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EDITORIAL

"All those who have the duty of teaching religion must be able to recognise the noble aspirations and the anxieties — acknowledged or proudly dissimulated — of contemporary society, to signalise dangerous byways, or to make use of a common figure of speech, to uncover stumbling blocks and repair obstacles. This is work which opens up a vast enterprise, also partly common to every country: the discovery in the universality of human nature, in the desires of the professional, social or intellectual milieu, of a particular age, the points of possible contact with religious training."

These ideas of the first editorial of "Lumen Vitae" (January | March 1946) described one of our aims in order to attain methodically and efficaciously our principal objective: progress in religious

tormation.

Under the heading "Stepping Stones and Obstacles," Lumen Vitae has published from 1946 to 1950 various contributions to religious sociology: studies of religious life and contemporary unbelief, descriptions of the structures and the influence of different milieux: the cultural milieu of our age (articles by Christopher Dawson, Jean Guitton, Charles Moeller), of one country (France, England, China, India), of the schools milieu etc. The list of these studies has been compiled and is reproduced on p. 360.

Professor Le Bras gave a stimulus to these enquiries. In January 1948 he introduced in "Lumen Vitae" an enquiry on international lines under the heading "Influence of Milieux on Religious

Life. "

"We know that the drawing up of replies takes much time and thought," he wrote at the end of his introduction. No one will be surprised that he has to wait for a harvest.

As the replies came in, it became apparent that the pioneers of religious sociology in various countries, and even within the same

country, did not know one another.

The results of old investigations (documents with no scientific pretensions, but worthy of being kept as objective evidence of the religious position), were unknown and risked falling into oblivion. One task was urgently called for if religious sociology were to progress, and that was to organise a meeting between investigators of different countries and to arrange matters so that unknown observers could have the chance of recognition. This international review, which desired to "furnish occasion for fruitful and convenient meetings," thought it consonant with its mission to request the cooperation of competent authorities for a sort of "stock taking." Our appeal succeeded beyond our expectations. We express our deep gratitude to those who, although very busy, have been kind enough to expend their riches to the benefit of all.

* *

The need for researchworkers of every country to be able to pool their resources is becoming more and more recognised. This resulted in 1948 in an undertaking of major importance, a word about

which will not be out of place here.

On the 2nd April 1948, Canon J. Leclercq, Professor at Louvain University, received at the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie at Louvain fifteen French, Dutch and Belgian scholars who were interested in religious sociology. The next day they formed a body: the International Conference of Religious Sociology, with the object of "establishing contact between those occupied in religious sociology research."

On April 29-30 1949 a second conference took place at Louvain. Papers were read by Frs. J. Kopf, O. P., Grond, O. F. M., Staverman, O. F. M., Mlle C. Leplae, Fr. V. Grégoire, O. P. Mgr Geck of Cologne and Professor S. Aznar of Madrid sent a communication.

The third Conference was organised by the "Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut." Very valuable help was promised with the services of Dr. Urban H. Fleege (head of the section of religious affairs in the office of the High Commissioner of the United States in Germany), of Dr. K. J. Hahn (Secretary of the Catholic Association for Spiritual Renewal, Bilthoven), of Mlle C. Leplae (secretary of the Institut de Recherches Économiques et Sociales, Louvain).

The subject of the Conference was stated in these terms: "The state of positive social sciences in the sphere of religious and ecclesiastical life and its application to the pastorate and apostolate in the

various countries.

In two different ways the International Conference and the review "Lumen Vitae" were pursuing the same end. Professor Zeegers, secretary-director of the Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut, expressed the desire that the speeches made at the Conference should be

inserted in the special number of "Lumen Vitae" which was being brought out. The suggestion was all the more natural as several of the speakers were already contributing to the issue. The Very Reverend Canon Leclercq was in favour of the idea and wrote as follows to the editor: "The idea of publishing the speeches at the Conference in "Lumen Vitae" seems to me to be a happy one and I thank you for your cooperation."

So, thanks to the gracious proposal and the generous help of the Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut, this number is both the result of the work carried on over several years by the International Centre for Studies in Religious Education and the report of the Third International Religious Conterence.

* *

The International Chronicle which this number anticipates is doubly in harmony with the whole. Its principal author, His Lordship Mgr O'Hara, bishop of Kansas City, is a sociologist whose merit is recognised: he is honorary president of the "Catholic Sociological Society of America." The subject of which it treats is not unfamiliar to religious sociology: Mgr O'Hara, president of the episcopal committee of the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine, describes the structure and function of this institution, one of the most dynamic in his country. In this task he has been assisted by the Reverend Joseph B. Collins who has undertaken to put forward several of the aspects of the work, of the direction of which he is a master.

* *

Having a greater desire to further new progress than to mark the outcome of many labours, we dare to conclude with an appeal for help to fill up the gaps concerning the past, to keep us informed of present undertakings, and to collect documentation for the benefit of the visitors to the International Centre for Studies in Religious Education.

Professor Le Bras, who has taken an interest in "Lumen Vitae" since its first beginnings, was unable to be present at the Conference but showed his great sympathy by sending one of his disciples to represent him. He has been kind enough to write the introduction to the articles. To him we express our gratitude.

Preliminary Note

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY

On Thursday the 29th March, about eighty members, representing a dozen countries, were received in the picturesque "Maison Bouvigne" on the outskirts of Breda (Holland) by Canon J. Leclercq, president of the Conference and Mgr W. Koenraadt, president of the "Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut."

After greeting Mgr Baeten, bishop of Breda, the governor of Brabant and the mayor of Breda, who were present at the opening session, Mgr Koenraadt welcomed the delegates very cordially. At the same time he drew attention to the importance of the work in hand:

Is it not true, he said to them, that the pastorate and apostolate are faced today with such vast and serious problems that scientific researches with regard to milieux, groups, etc. have become necessary? I am thinking particularly of the questions concerning the recruitment of clergy and religious, the morality of the young, the growing indifference and abandoning of all religious practice, the decline in the birthrate, even among Catholics, an almost insurmountable resistance to religious life and morals in certain family or city circles.

The discussions which took place during the Conference would be helpful in the discerning and solving of these problems. Mgr Koenraadt anticipated this result and hoped for another and more durable one:

We dare to hope, he concluded, that the contacts, speeches and discussions of these days will result in the decision to create a permanent office and secretariat.

Mgr Baeten spoke next. He expressed the strong approval of the Dutch episcopate on the "Instituut," which had organised this third international conference: The holding of the conference at Breda is a welcome occasion for the Dutch episcopate to express their interest in and sympathy with this important work.

For it is not only the Bishop of Breda who speaks to you, but he whom the assembly of bishops on the 1st March chose to represent them among you.

Since the birth of the Catholic Institute of Social-Ecclesiastical Researches, we have felt an affinity between us and this new movement which has been formed to help us in the apostolate which is becoming more and more complicated.

Ever since its aims were explained to us, the peril and even ruin of souls brought about by the ignorance of their shepherds of actual conditions, we have been convinced that it is indispensable for us who have the charge of the salvation of souls.

Canon Leclercq thanked His Lordship and opened the conference. He recalled the origin of the organisation. There reigns a great confusion of minds. It is hard to form a just estimate of the situation, especially as regards religion. Now, those whose mission is to spread the gospel must know, before they can act, and must therefore look at reality with the help of those methods of social research by which one can reach definite results. Knowledge before action was common to all the promoters of the Conference. Perhaps the time has not yet come for international work. At least the wish for it is manifest: the creation of an international bureau would mark a stage in the road to results.

From Thursday evening 29th March to Saturday the 31st afternoon, speeches and discussions followed one another, under the chairmanship of Canon Leclercq. In the "Contents", we have placed an asterisk before the title so as to facilitate recognition





FOREWORD

by Gabriel LE BRAS, Professor at the University of Paris

Although sociological study was applied to the sphere of religion at the end of the XIX century, only recently has it come to the help of the great religions. For long primitive people had taken up attention. 1 Whereas among these latter the elements of religion - myths, rites, institutions - form an almost indissoluble unity and are unanimously adhered to by the entire tribe, the sociology of Catholicism (as of Islamism) is distributed into distinct sectors. Catholic sociologists have examined the varying behaviour of milieux. Thus Lumen Vitae leaves to others theology, liturgy and canon law, and takes for its specific object religious formation, that is, the experimental science of contemporary society with a view to the composition of a rational pedagogy. Fr. Delcuve judged that an examination of some achievements would stimulate research and further those studies which he has so much at heart. To the many manuscripts carefully collated by him, is added the reports of the Third International Conference of Religious Sociology, the organisation of which had been the work of the Institute of Religious Sociological Research, directed at the Hague by Professor Zeegers.

Here is the whole thing. After a few introductory words, I will suggest some reflections on the ill-defined field from which it comes.

Ι

This series of articles, from three quarters of the world, is composed of inventories and examples.

In seven countries a catalogue has been made of all the authors who have analysed the framework of modern life to explain the

¹ Durkheim set the example.

revolution in beliefs and customs, and in some cases to prepare the way for Catholic Action. Families and neighbourhoods, urban and rural communities, places of work and recreation have attracted investigators. And the question has been put: what part does the diocese and parish, the school or the charitable organisation take among social forces in a disordered world.

France, Belgium and Holland seem to be at the head of this movement of scientific curiosity and religious uneasiness. One may guess the reasons.

In the West the apostasy of the working classes has taken on more spectacular forms, 2 the contrasts between the different regions are startling, the disharmony between the old and new generations unsettles the home: 3 hence the call for a social history. local geography, demographic geometry. In France and Belgium the débâcle demanded action and action gave ideas. When Catholics discovered that the falling away from religion was not a mere episode in the struggle between God and Satan, but the effect of a new civilisation developing outside the reach of a slow-moving Church, there began a study of profane milieux cautiously by the bishops and with an open conquering goodwill by young Catholic militants. M. Hoyois describing the stages of this enquiry in Belgium, notes some encouraging successes, deplores the inadequacy of some of the questionnaires both in breadth and depth. He pleads for more completeness and better quality. The French have experienced similar efforts and weaknesses: I have tried to draw up a critical bibliography of their works which have been well received. But in the labyrinths of statistics and cartography they have not been as successful as the Dutch Institute, under the able leadership of Professor Zeegers.

In the Southern countries Catholics started later, for reasons casy to conjecture: less obvious problems, a temporary lack of teams and competent organisations, continuance of tranquil pastoral life. The first statistics and observations collected in Italy and Spain promise well for the future contributions of these countries. One of my best disciples, Fr. Droulers, is teaching our methods to the Gregorian University and Abbé Rimoldi is applying them in the vast diocese of Milan: rapid success should be assured.

One is astonished that in the United States, whose sociology

² In France: the contrast between the frontier regions and the centre; in Belgium: Flanders and Wallonia; in Holland: the division between the north and the south in religion.

³ It is not always the old who are the faithful.

has been described by an historian of the human sciences as "the finest tree in our forest," the branch at which we are looking has so little developed. Two of my young disciples now studying at Chicago, try to explain this delayed growth and forecast a blossoming in the near future: the structure of communities, the evolution of small groups, the diversity of behaviour in each of the milieux, are attracting a lively interest. Our colleague and friend Falardeau tells of the same slow growth and the same promise in Canada, with a pragmatic trend among the Anglo-Saxons, juridical among the French.

Professor Kibédi describes the research groups which have been formed in different countries of Latin America after the visit of Rev. Fr. Lebret.

In spite of inevitable gaps, 4 the report we are presenting reveals that much activity is going on and allows us to hope for some well based synthesis before the end of the century.

* *

Besides methodical inventories, there are also original studies on topical questions.

The subjects dealt with by several American sociologists are not without great interest for the religious life. As an appendix to the issue of this review dealing with mixed marriages, John Thomas summarises American experience. We have some pertinent remarks from Fr. Fichter on the part played by social conventions in the behaviour of men and certain feminine virtues. These two essays are preceded by a sound programme of investigations (Prof. Francis) and by a brief description of the various kinds of enquiries that American sociologists have carried out on the Parish.

In Belgium, the Rev. Father De Volder, O. F. M., Lecturer at the University of Louvain, is engaged in settling the limits of the domain of religious sociology; his article will facilitate discussions on this subject. In the entire district of Brussels, the Abbé Houtart is rediscovering the social structures; he is thus preparing a greater coincidence between parochial and civic boundaries. While specialists are giving themselves to this work, the diocesan clergy

⁴ England has an abundant literature on the crisis in religion, but I know of no book on our subject. The same applies to Ireland, Portugal, Austria, Brazil, Mexico. But in each of these countries we might obtain a bibliographical and documentary note from some competent authority.

are invited by the Abbé Collard to carry out an enquiry into religious observance.

This enquiry does not differ greatly from that undertaken by the dioceses of France at the request of Canon Boulard and myself. The Abbé Verscheure gives us some precise details concerning the work done in the diocese of Lille.

What country is suffering more than Germany or has more thoughtful scholars? A recent paper of mine on the present state of Catholicism in Germany was an appeal to German sociologists, the only ones qualified for the three series of investigations which seem to me to be most needed. ⁵

First, the effects on religion of the deplacement of twelve million people belonging to various creeds and within each to dissimilar ethnical and historical traditions. Their contact with the Western populations offers an unprecedented and, let us hope, unique spectacle in the cycle of catastrophies. A limited enquiry (which will, we hope, be repeated tens of times) ⁶ is offered us concerning three typical deaneries of Bavaria.

The reorganisation of the Church which has been so greatly preoccupied with the social order since the XIX century, the tension between the heirs of social Catholicism and the bolder pioneers of a Catholic Action with greater confidence in the laity, merits reflection by independent observers. Mgr Geck tells us of the efforts at readaptation, making use of figures without omitting imponderables.

Finally, what common sentiments are at work in the new generations overwhelmed by the cataclysm? An article depicts for us the young workers and the milieu in which they take root.

Professor Monzel enlarges on a problem which is arising beyond

the Ruhr and Westphalia.

At the Congress of Breda, Dr. Groner set forth the remarkable activities of the National Centre of Religious Statistics of which he is the director, and testified to the wealth of material already gathered together in Cologne. Professor Neundörfer, with all the authority of a great organisor, offered some suggestions for study and work.

The articles from Holland illustrate the synthesis of Professor Zeegers. These are very searching studies on a certain quarter of a town, or on a whole town, which precede any moral or religious

⁵ Les Églises en Allemagne, a collection of articles published by the Centre de politique étrangère, 54, rue de Varenne, in 1948.

⁶ Fr. Pollet, who has been our chief collaborator in the German enquiries, wrote Le problème religieux chez les réfugiés, in Documents, Dec. 1950.

action. By way of concrete example, Father Grond gives us some idea of what a certain quarter means to its inhabitants. Professor Heere presents a similar work carried out at Tilburg. A note from the Abbé Dellepoort on vocation statistics and another from Father Ellerbeck on the relationship between sociology and psychology complete Holland's contribution.

The storm centre attracts the sociologist even more. We would have wished for impartial evidence from Poland (where sociology and ecclesiastical history are continuing), Czechoslovakia, Rumania. At any rate Professor Kovrig offers an interpretation of Communist tactics in Hungary to detach Catholics from the Church.

Some capitalist countries leave destitution to bring about dechristianisation; no technique is needed. Professor Kibédi writes of it in the slums of Bogota, Fr. Hurtado in Santiago. The lesson is clear for other countries besides Colombia and Chile.

In the mission countries we have "primitives" and ultramoderns existing together, and these problems of contact: the effect of milieux on the colonials and the natives, the reciprocal influence of the two categories. From Africa we get some truths sent by a chaplain and a religious sister; from the same country will come others, to be published by the Revue du clergé africain.

H

This collection of articles provides us with an occasion for reflecting on religious sociology. Professor Francis comments on the vain attempts to define sociology. Hardly any more agreement can be found for the term "religion." So is it possible to be unanimous on the meaning of religious sociology? Our only hope is to open the way to agreement by asking ourselves calmly to what extent the subjects treated in this issue belong to religious sociology. This is a double problem: what place do they occupy incontestably in the programme of this science? Do they come strictly within its ambit?

Like every religion, Catholicism proposes truths for belief, rites to perform, an organisation in which each member has his place and rule. The incontestable object of religious sociology is this visible body, whose dimensions and elements, structure and

vitality are the subjects of its study. It can do more. ⁷ We should without hesitation allow it the examination of social conditions with reference to the development of beliefs and rites, relations with the other societies, religious or otherwise. All these problems should, we think, be examined in time and in space: the Church slowly adapts itself to each place; each of its communities is composed of men whose condition changes and whose tendencies and fervour are constantly influencing the body and soul of the whole group. ⁸

With his rubric "modern milieux and religious life," Fr. Delcuve has emphasised the connection between the places of men and the temples of God, between natural and supernatural preoccupations of human groups. He thus excludes vast sectors from his field of observation: sociology of dogma, liturgy, canon law; relation between the "two powers." The sub-title Present state of religious sociology has for its object the specification of science which he consults, not to identify the domain of this science

with what he wants to explore.

One will, however, note that this field chosen by Lumen Vitae, is the one favoured by religious sociologists. Where are the sociological interpretations of christology, mariology, hagiography, of the last things? How many have even glimpsed at all the problems raised by canon law, the liturgy, the plastic arts and sacred music? The fine perspectives opened by Troeltsch and Max Weber on ethics and economics, the normative preoccupations of social Christians, the admixture of sacred and profane in civil communities, have interested only a very few theoricians or philosophers, and that chiefly among English and Americans protestants. 9

In Catholic countries, attention is chiefly directed to the composition of the organised Church: the number and social position of the practising, the effects of religious beliefs on social behaviour, the influence of social background on religious life of groups and masses. We may conclude that *Lumen Vitae* contains a large proportion of the recent findings of religious sociology.

⁷ And there is much more in the Éléments de sociologie religieuse of Roger Bas-TIDE and the two comprehensive works by Joachim Wach and Gustav Mensching (1947), which I have reviewed in Année sociologique, 1949 and 1950.

⁸ See my Note sur la structure de la sociologie religieuse, Année sociologique, 1950. ⁹ See the chapter on La sociologie de la religion, published by J. Wach in La sociologie au XX^e siècle (vol. I) which we owe to Georges Gurvitch. Paris, Presses universitaires, 1947.

Does it contain all that one could wish? Far from celebrating the triumph of religious sociology, we must observe that the work has hardly been begun. On what modern milieu, on what parish, have we a really good monograph? Have our methods enough exactness to permit of a real discovery of the past, a knowledge of the present and a reasonable conjecture of the future?

Anxiety grows as one considers the unexplored territory: all these extra-parochial centres in out-lying districts, all those little communities outside the parish vet having a deep religious life.

Some one may say that we have gone beyond the bounds of religious sociology and trespassed on the field of general

sociology or religious psychology.

When we are studying the milieux of a town or factory, it is clear that our enquiries are purely secular. When we assess the influence of faith upon its practice or the connection between piety and moral conduct, we enter the domain of psychology. If we respect the frontiers of these sciences, we will have to leave out several matters not directly concerned with clergy and laity. It would be a great impoverishment.

We suggest that one ought to see as it were two doors in religious sociology, one opening on to secular society, the other on to the kingdom of the soul. In Christian lands we can without great loss limit our exegesis to the parishes. But today, the parish is often a desert: the faithful are scattered in innumerable hidden places, a fact which calls for reform of the structure of the Church. A sociology of Catholicism should be inserted into a general sociology. It cannot ignore the fact that the good folk of St Sulpice or of Bois-Colombes have as a rule, a house, a family, a job, and these things do affect their religious attitude, and even the housing. families, and trades in their neighbourhood.

As for enquiries into faith and morals, that is not the task of the sociologist except insofar as the collectivity does explain behaviour. P. de Grandmaison, writing on personal religion, expressed some fear lest the title of his book cloaks a sheer illusion. At least we have the right to calculate the strength of social pressure which is exerted on the sentiments and thoughts of each individual. Pictures, sayings, actions, refusals, what part have we in the heritage which determines or lessens our fidelity? Society

classifies different kinds of practising Christians. On the other hand, every religious attitude accompanies or provokes social

ones which, we know, are so far from spiritual.

The atheism of modern society obliges us to examine all the social strata and the life of the spirit: for the sociology of irreligion constitutes one of the chief chapters of religious sociology. And we do not properly understand Catholic society if we isolate it from the gigantic conflict between the two conceptions of the world.

* *

Catholic sociology, founded on the observation of men, the interpretation of figures, the knowledge of religious beliefs, cannot live without the assistance of all the profane and sacred sciences. But it draws from them all in order to solve its own problems, those concerning birth, life and the death of societies. A perfect acceptance of the witness of facts, a firm strictness in the interpretation of them, in discussion and deduction, place it among the human sciences. The enquirers of all shades of opinion who use it have no difficulty in collaborating, and this agreement is its advantage when elsewhere there are passionate controversies. ¹⁰

When they have put down their conclusions, the professionals retire into their laboratories to study fresh problems. The men of action return to their apostolate. Some use their knowledge of societies to convert to communism the kingdom of St. Stephen. Others, to lead into the Church the dechristianised masses. The present volume is dedicated to these devoted servants of a truly human pastorate. Lumen Vitae: science has enlightened them about the life of all the modern milieux, which they desire to lead to the sacred source of all light.

¹⁰ Romanists, orientalists, mohammedans, even perhaps theologians attack each other: sociologists applying themselves to the study of religion live in a perfect accord, in spite of the variety of their methods and, above all, of their convictions.

PART 1

General Inventories

Present State of Religious Sociology



Sociology of Catholicism in France

by Gabriel LE Bras

Professor of the Faculty of Law in the University of Paris, President of the Religious Section in the School for Higher Studies, Paris 1

Only recently did religious sociology in France begin to study Catholicism and in a scientific manner the workings and vitality of a Church which for over a thousand years was the national church. My purpose here is to outline the origin of this scientific undertaking, and describe the institutions and works concerned with the analysis of structures, activities and behaviour, and finally the collective schemes.

We shall distinguish the research work done by those animated by an apostolic zeal for reform, and the contribution of intellectuals engaged in the human sciences. Both are of equal value scientifically, ² but their aim, and consequently their scope and spirit, are slightly different. So as to enlarge the contents of this diptych we will suggest some other themes which will form as it were a third panel.

I

For a long time religious revolution which has gone on since the end of the Ancien Regime inspired Frenchmen with only philosophical or moral considerations. Amongst ecclesiastics, vague lamentations were more frequent than impressive picture-painting (as indulged by Lamennais). Many zealous bishops concentrated on maintaining harmony; they did not use the excellent opportunities of pastoral visits to draw up a balance-sheet. ³ Historians like Taine

¹ See the biographical notice in Lumen Vitae, III (1948), p. 20. → Address: 3, Place du Panthéon, Paris Ve, France (Editor's note).

² Of the innumbrable examples of the former we will only look at those of a high intellectual standard.

³ All the more valuable are the dossiers which Mgr d'Astros assembled at Toulouse; Mgr Dupanloup at Orleans and Mgr Ravinet at Troyes.

and Hanotaux who have wanted to know the real state of the Church have thus been without good sources. 4 Despite entreaties from experts, 5 sociologists failed to take any notice of the religious societies in the midst of which they were living.

The disciples of Le Play were almost alone in providing some useful contributions. La Réforme sociale contains articles and documents concerning religious life and social psychology. 6 Thus Abbé Raffin published in 1903 some figures and maps dealing with civil burial. 7

When anti-clerical storms were threatening at the end of the XIX century, everything was against the birth of a sociology of Catholicism: lack of preparation on the part of the clergy, distrust of the school of Durkheim, the negative attitude of modernism, prejudice in various quarters.

It required the great shock of Separation to induce Catholics to draw up inventories of their resources by means of congresses or monographs. 8 These early efforts were interrupted by the 1914 war.

The discovery of the real strength of Catholicism in France is one of the useful acquisitions of religious sociology in the course of the last thirty years. It was begun by apostles who were anxious to act effectively. In a period of five years ten publications appeared in which the *milieux* were described: Fr. Lhande revealed the desolation in the suburbs; ⁹ Jacques Valdour made his observations in towns and amongst the working classes; ¹⁰ Fr. Croizier undertook the investigation of the underlying causes of the disintegration of Christian society. ¹¹

Since then the observations and reflections of men anxious about the future of Catholicism in France were turned to present day con-

⁴ They acknowledge their regret and disappointment. Works such as that of Mgr Bougaud, one of the more modern, gave them few details.

⁵ Notably Marcel Mauss, who urged his school, though specialising in primitive man, to observe one's contemporaries.

⁶ A classification of the contributions of the school is in preparation.

⁷ The religious map of Paris. Statistics of religious and civil burials in Paris from 1883 to 1903.

⁸ Between 1905 and 1907 the *Revue catholique des Églises* published articles on various dioceses; the best being that of Abbé (now Mgr) Calvet who described the situation in Cahors with great detail. One of the most useful congresses was that held in 1914, at Castres (diocese of Albi), the findings of which have been published.

⁹ Le Christ dans la banlieue, Paris, 1927.

La vie ouvrière, Paris, 2 vols. 1926. Ouvriers catholiques et royalistes, Paris, 1928.
 Pour faire l'avenir, Paris, 1929.

ditions, with close respectful regard for tradition. Their activities have taken three forms: institutions, literature and administration.

Whilst the Christian solution of secular problems and not the analysis of the machinery of the Church were their primary concern, all institutions and organisations inspired by social Catholicism prepared the way for the understanding among Catholics of religious sociology. ¹² The annual Semaines sociales and the permanent Action Populaire set a good start. ¹³ And now for some years the Union des Œuvres has been tackling subjects belonging strictly to religious sociology, leading great numbers of priests to study the conditions of their ministry, namely the organisation of the Church and its needs for efficiency in a changing world. ¹⁴

Naturally, the new organs of Catholic Action were worried with problems of "milieux" and their repercussions on religious society. Their investigations undertaken with at first an educative intent furnished some data and familiarised the younger members with questions of structure and contact. ¹⁵ At the head of J. A. C. (Catholic Rural Youth) is a great enthusiast, Abbé Boulard, formerly a country priest, now a sociologist acquainted with the best techniques. His questionnaires are always precise and are a stimulus to enquirers. ¹⁶ We shall indicate their results in the following pages.

Various bodies have been formed for the study of the problems of secular and religious sociology. None has gained a better reputation among experts than *Économie et Humanisme*, which under the

¹² G. Hoog, Histoire du catholicisme social en France (1871-1931), 2nd ed., Paris, 1946. — H. Rollet, L'action sociale des catholiques en France (1871-1901), thesis for the Faculté des Lettres de Paris, 1947.

¹³ After 1903 (the beginning of A. P.). It would be unjust not to mention the Sillon and Jeunesse catholique in this awakening of curiosity for social facts.

¹⁴ Besançon, 1946: Paroisse, chrétienté communautaire et missionnaire; Bordeaux 1947: Évangélisation; Lille, 1948: Structure sociale et pastorale paroissiale. These reports and the debates are published by the Union des Œuvres, 31, rue de Fleurus, Paris VI.

¹⁵ Education which seems to us very necessary for our purpose; religious sociology ought not to be the science of specialists and bishops. The branches of the Λ . C. are given in their entirety in the *Guide*, of which a new edition was published in 1950 by Most Rev. Courbe.

¹⁶ An excellent little dossier has just been published: it contains *The enquirer's guide*, a typical enquiry, a questionnaire for a monograph on a parish. The title is *L'étude d'une paroisse rurale* (The study of a rural parish), Centre national d'études rurales, 63, rue de Sèvres, Paris VI^e.

direction of Fr. Lebret, O. P., is a model of human curiosity and mathematical precision in the service of pastoral work. ¹⁷

The reviews which devote a large amount of space to pastoral sociology are divided among the groups which we have mentioned. Each of the Catholic Action movements has its publication. Under the care of Fr. Boulard, the Cahiers du clergé rural 18 give the clergy and workers principles of research and results, of which the most striking is the map of religious practice in France. 19 In the towns, the same work is done by Masses ouvrières. 20 The periodical of the Union des Œuvres 21 and also of the Union Apostolique 22 maintains the interest of the clergy in our problems. The Revue de l'Action populaire gives sound information. 23 Doctrinal, technical and monographic studies are published by Économie et Humanisme. 24

The desire for inspiring an attractive Catholicism, adapted to the needs of our day has given rise to Jeunesse de l'Église 25 and Maison-Dieu 26 which pushes schemes for active coordination and liturgical participation.

The periodicals of the great religious orders: La vie intellectuelle, La vie spirituelle, Études, are advancing the sociology of the Christian mind. ²⁷

Evolution of structures : M. D. CHENU, Réformes de structures en Chrétienté (nº 24);

F. MALLEY, Vers de nouvelles structures spirituelles (nº 24).

Monographs: X, Enquête sur les sentiments et la pratique religieuse des familles ouvrières (n° 18); Mgr Perrin, Un exemple de géographie religieuse: les vocations sacerdotales en Ille-et-Vilaine de 1910 à 1945 (n° 33).

²⁸ Organ of the Centre de pastorale liturgique. Good articles on worship and pracice.

¹⁷ Diagrams, instructions, guides: all the necessary instruments have been produced by this hardworking association. Fr. Kopp, O. P., is bringing out a *Guide d'enquête pastorale* (35, rue de la Glacière, Paris, 60 frs).

¹⁸ Monthly, 13, rue du Dr. Roux, Paris IV.

¹⁹ Cahiers, november 1947.

²⁰ Monthly, 12, av. Sœur Rosalie, Paris XIII.

²¹ L'Union. Monthly, 31, rue de Fleurus, Paris VI.

²² Prêtres diocésains. Monthly, 76 bis, rue des Saints-Pères, Paris.

²³ Monthly, Éditions Spes, 79, rue de Gentilly, Paris XIII.

²⁴ Fr. Kopf has indicated articles on religious sociology. — Doctrine: G. Dau-VILLIER, La paroisse, communauté spirituelle et temporelle (n° 7); H. C. DESROCHES, Sociologie religieuse et économie humaine (n° 19); F. Malley, Connaissance et paroisse (n° 20); R. DELPRAT, Géographie et sociologie religieuse (n° 30).

²⁵ Pamphlets from a research centre for the study of the changes in culture and their repercussions on the life of the Christian and the Church. Started at Lyons in 1942, 5, rue Pizay. See particularly the Cahier nº 8: Je bâtirai mon Église.

²⁷ La vie spirituelle also publishes the Supplément trimestriel and some Cahiers

There are collections of *books* examining the religious problems of our day in which sociology — without the name — holds a prominent place.

Many profound reflections on the visible and the invisible Church in the volumes of Frs. de Lubac, S. J., de Montcheuil, S. J., Congar, O. P., under the title of *Unam Sanctam*. Fr. de Lubac has well indicated his aim: *Catholicisme*. Les aspects sociaux du dogme. When he considers salvation through the Church or the human person in society, the subtitle assumes its full significance. Aspects de l'Église by Fr. de Montcheuil, place sman in the group, the group in the world and the beyond. And Fr. Congar's three books: Chrétiens désunis, Esquisses du mystère de l'Église, Vraie et fausse réforme de l'Église form a practical ecclesiology, seeking unity in charity, full of prophetic utterances whilst remaining submissive to hierarchical authority, and showing a youthfulness of spirit because nourished on early Christian sources.

The series *Rencontres* has made world wide Fr. Godin's cry of alarm and the definite proposals of Fr. Boulard. *France*, pays de mission? is a poignant appeal for reconquest by an enlightened apostolate: the sociological answer is to be found in *Problèmes missionnaires de la France rurale*, in *Essor et déclin du clergé français*, one of the best treatises of statistics and social analysis which we have had up till now. ²⁸

The sociology of the conversion of pagans can be read between the lines written by Canon Bardy, ²⁹ that of the resistance of Catholics to reform in the works of Joseph Folliet, ³⁰ that of the persistent dualism of Catholics in the powerful pages of two members of the *tertium genus*. ³¹

Finally, the hybrid collection of university theses contains essays on Christian demography inspired by a high apostolic ardour. ³²

which deal with our science, e. g. Les adaptations de la vie religieuse (1948). We shall also find good material in L'Année théologique, and Témoignages (in which M. Pognon has even undertaken the sociology of atheism).

²⁸ A review of it (and also of the latest work of Fr. Congar) will be found in the next volume of *L'Année sociologique*.

²⁹ La conversion au christianisme durant les premiers siècles (collection Théologie).

³⁰ Les chrétiens au carrefour. II. Présence de l'Église. Lyons, Chronique sociale de France, 2 vols, 1947 et 1949.

³¹ M. J. CONGAR and F. VARILLON, Sacerdoce et laïcat dans l'Église (Collection Problèmes du clergé diocésain).

³² Abbé Élie GAUTIER, L'émigration bretonne, Sorbonne thesis, 1950. A memoir has been presented to the Catholic university of Lille on the parish of St. Martin of Dunkirk.

After a period of silence, which is usual in all administrations, the authorities and headquarters of dioceses have first allowed and then encouraged the new methods.

Instruction in them has entered the Grands Séminaires, where lecturers are invited and welcomed. ³³ Pastoral meetings for the clergy are organised by the bishops, and the chaplains of Catholic Action; the central theme is the adaptation of the Church to new structures. ³⁴

Investigation is again becoming an episcopal procedure. ³⁵ Not infrequently bishops are proposing as subject for ecclesiastical conferences the study of parochial milieux. ³⁶ One archbishop started his reign with a minute analysis of all his parishes. ³⁷ The secretariat of the Assembly of Cardinals and Archbishops has sent a questionnaire to all the dioceses which Fr. Boulard and myself sent to them: before or after receiving this circular, fifty or so dioceses have undertaken a complete survey. ³⁸

The normal crowning of this effort will be a network of institutions. Certain dioceses are planning a complete course in sociology. ³⁹ The centres of documentation are multiplying. ⁴⁰ And Mgr Feltin has formed a diocesan statistical committee, of which I am president and which has already undertaken important studies or enquiries. ⁴¹

The first essays in courses, talks, study circles, bring the problems into the university sphere. 42

³³ We have lately visited several seminaries in Normandy, Brittany and the Paris region.

³⁴ The Abbé Boulard is often the promoter of these and usually the chairman.
35 As in the XVIII century. The example was set by Mgr Grente, bishop of Mans, who publishes quinquennial statements.

³⁶ For instance, St. Brieuc, 1946.

³⁷ Mgr de Provenchères, archbishop of Aix, formed a team to carry out this minute inventory.

³⁸ Canon Renard, Enquête de sociologie religieuse du diocèse de Lille, in L'Union, February 1951, pp. 49-53. Enquiries previous to this have usually been made when asked for by Fr. Boulard.

³⁹ Profane society would be its first subject, but the structure of the Church would have its chapters, the interpretation of traditional principles and realities in the light of modern research.

⁴⁰ Sacerdotal, catechetic, pastoral documentations; bureaux are formed for all needs.

⁴¹ Population of the parishes, number and proportion of baptisms, attendance at Sunday mass.

⁴² The Institut Catholique de Paris organises a general course in catechesis where religious sociology has a place. There are no study circles of the higher degrees (Centre catholique des intellectuels, reunions organised by Jesuits or Dominicans) which do not methodically tackle our problems.

H

Far from looking upon religious sociology as nothing but a lantern for the apostolate, our public educational and research institutions, whatever the private opinions of their directors, have given us most kind attention.

Courses have been opened at the Institut d'Études politiques and in the department of human sciences at the École pratique des Hautes Études for the analysis of religious societies. ⁴³ The Centre for Sociological Studies devotes each year a series of lectures on them and gives them a good place in its Colloquia and Congresses. ⁴⁴ At the Sorbonne ⁴⁵ and at the Faculty of Letters at Bordeaux ⁴⁶ religious sociology has been made the subject of a series of lessons.

There is no organ of the human sciences which does not keep close contact with religious sociology. The national Institute of Demographic Studies looks to it for the Christian influence on the family: marriage and celibacy, divorce and separation, birthrate, and makes mention of it in their excellent review. ⁴⁷ Among the probings of the Institut Français on public opinion, several concern Catholic life. ⁴⁸ None of the Cahiers of the Fondation nationale des Sciences Politiques neglects the light afforded by religious sociology. ⁴⁹

⁴³ My course given at the Institute of Political Studies has been duplicated; it will be printed by Armand Colin. Subject: Catholicism in France. Its organisation, vitality, political importance. A 'seminary' trains students in research. The course at the School for Higher Studies deals with statistics and institutions: it also will be published.

⁴⁴ A colloquium has just been held on the psychology of the great cities. One of the meetings of the second sociological week (March 1951) will have as its subject Religious practice in the towns and the country. The Centre directed by G. Davy, G. Gurvitch, H. Levy-Brühl, G. Friedmann and myself is always favourable to the investigations of religious sociology, of which I am in charge.

⁴⁵ I put forward the general problems of religious sociology, with special reference to France.

⁴⁶ My colleague G. Stoetzel made it the subject of an annual course.

⁴⁷ The collaborators of *Population* always show a perfect understanding of the religious factor and its statistics.

⁴⁸ See the numbers of Sondages, 16 April 1946 (Religious perseverance); 1st Feb. 1948 (On the beliefs of the French and their bearing on political opinions); 1st January 1949 (Hierarchy of feasts). M. Stoetzel, who is the head of the institute, 16, rue de Monceau, has explained his method in his thesis and in several brochures or articles.

⁴⁹ See Cahiers no. 2 (GARAVEL, Les paysans de Morette); no. 9 (A. SIEGFRIED, Géographie électorale de l'Ardèche); no. 17 (Ch. BETTELHEIM and S. Frère, Auxerre in 1950).

Since I have given a great part of my time to the sociology of Catholicism in France, I may be permitted to give an account of the stages in a work the gaps and imperfections in which I shall

not fail to point out.

Since my early studies in canon law, I have been discouraged by the abstract nature of its rules, as I have also been in my human contacts by the absurd generalities of common opinion about societies. My reaction against vague and arbitrary conclusions led me to statistics and in order to learn the composition of the visible Church, I drew up categories of those practising and methods of counting, with a view to a territorial and social geography of church-going among the French people. This research brought into relief an astonishing solidarity between regions and classes. ⁵⁰

Are the religious contrasts between the West and the provinces in the centre of France, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, reflected in domestic, political and moral conduct, and can one presume any correlation? Numerous comparisons brought out parallelisms, analogies and also divergencies which sometimes

confirmed and sometimes refuted the general opinion. 51

From the beginning I had noted the historical nature of the problem and had applied myself by local investigations to find out the state of the practice of religion in the last century of the Ancien Regime ⁵² which seemed to allow of a sketch of contemporary development. ⁵³ If the XVIII and XX centuries offer plenty of documents, the XIXth remains in semi-darkness which we are slowly penetrating. ⁵⁴

Two volumes, soon out of print because of the limited number of copies, brought together the findings of twelve years. 55

⁵⁰ Statistique et histoire religieuse, in the Revue d'histoire de l'Église en France (R. H. E. F.) six articles from 1931 to 1940. The first is a manifesto for a detailed examination and for an historical explanation of the state of Catholicism in the different regions of France. De l'état présent de la pratique religieuse en France; premiers traits d'une carte de la pratique religieuse dans les campagnes françaises in the Revue de Folklore français, 1933 and 1936.

⁵¹ Lectures reissued in various bulletins.

⁵² Summary of communications on the practice in the XVIII century in R.H.E F., 1934; Revue historique de droit, 1934 and 1935. Studies on the dioceses of Châlons and Auxerre under the Ancien Regime, in the Nouvelle Revue de Champagne et de Brie 1935 and in Mémoires pour l'histoire du droit... des anciens pays bourguignons... 1935.

⁵³ Les transformations religieuses des campagnes françaises depuis la fin du XVII^e siècle, in Annales sociologiques, 1937.

⁵⁴ Reports on internal missions in the XIX century are helpful.

⁵⁵ Introduction à l'histoire de la pratique religieuse en France, Paris, 1942 and 1945.

Since their publication I have tried to advance in several directions. First of all I wrote in numerous reviews making appeals; ⁵⁶ enquiries concerning practice extended to groups ⁵⁷ and towns; ⁵⁸ in the country they have, as new subjects, forms of devotion and superstition, the various types of communities, the phenomena of contact; ⁵⁹ they continue to explore obscure periods; ⁶⁰ and finally they go beyond our frontiers in search of comparisons. ⁶¹

The same regard for references has suggested the scheme of a geography of all religious phenomena, 62 and comments on the relations between election maps and those of religious practice. 63

If my curiosity has naturally widened, it has not lost in depth. Practice is only a doubtful witness for faith and morals. A strict observation of its qualities allows of less hasardous inferences. But one should gather all the signs of religious vitality in order to arrive at reasonable conjectures as to beliefs. 64

Not only is this the case with our contemporaries but also our ancestors, whose faith we are too often inclined to judge by the height of their cathedrals and the length of their pilgrimages. ⁶⁵

We need not explain how this ardour, once kept within the narrow confines of parishes and spending itself on statistics, has now led us on to explore souls, that is to say, to psychology (individual or collective). It inspires a sociology of canon law and of certain aspects of theology and liturgy; ⁶⁶ an attempt to compare the geography and sociology of the great religions; ⁶⁷ an essay on the sociol-

⁵⁶ Études (1938), Union apostolique (1939), Cahiers du clergé rural (1943), Lumen Vitae (1948), Nouvelle Revue Théologique (1948).

⁵⁷ Lumen Vitae (1947).

⁵⁸ Connaissance des villes (in Masses ouvrières, 1946).

⁵⁹ Mesure de la vitalité du catholicisme en France, in Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, 1949.

⁶⁰ Le diocèse d'Orléans sous le second Empire, in R. H. E. F., 1950.

⁶¹ Les Églises en Allemagne; le Catholicisme. A chapter in a book published by the Centre d'études de politique étrangère, 54, rue de Varenne. Paris.

⁶² Un programme : la géographie religieuse, in Annales d'histoire sociale (Memorial Marc Bloch).

⁶³ Géographie électorale nationale des Sciences politiques. L'Église et la Société dans la IV République (La République française, 1950).

⁸⁴ La vitalité religieuse de l'Église de France, in R. H. E. F., 1945. Application à la Bretagne, in Mémoires de la Société Bretonne d'archéologie et d'histoire, 1945.

⁶⁵ We are continually ridiculing the myth of the ages of faith and the ages of unbelief.

⁶⁶ Secteurs et aspects nouveaux de la sociologie religieuse, in Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, 1946.

⁶⁷ A notice will appear as to this scheme in the forthcoming volume of L'Année sociologique, and on its first results.

ogy of sacred music; 68 finally some elementary reflections on the stages of a sociology of religions. 69

At the end of this journey, I must render thanks to scholars everywhere for their kindness. They have been good enough to keep secret many of the criticisms which I have hurled at myself, and they will, I hope, mark the way for a methodical progress. ⁷⁰

Each of the establishments of higher education where I have given courses has provided an assortment of typed theses; religious practice has been the exclusive subject of several of them. Thus a particular parish, two cantons, a country, a diocese have been studied.

M. Jacques Petit has classified according to sex, age, professions and district of the town the persons attending Mass on an average Sunday in the parish of Saint-Laurent (Paris). He has marked them on a map and, to allow of comparative examination, has shown on it place of habitation, professions, and list of electors. 71

By his office, M. Lemouzy was qualified to study the relations between religion and family, social and political habits of the canton of Maisons-Lafitte. M. Thomas Collignon has done the same for his native canton of Gevrey-Chambertin. 72 M. Diebold, head of the Grand Séminaire of Évreux, has given us an excellent picture of the diocese; 73 and through M. Mamert we know the contrasts in Larzac. 74

Monographs on communes and cantons have given a large place to the religious position. M. Mendras has scrutinised his village in the Massif Central; ⁷⁵ M. de Sagazan and Miss de Montalembert, their cantons of Brittany and Burgundy. ⁷⁶

⁶⁸ Lecture at the French society of musicology. We seek (and have already found) assistance for the historical study of the relations between thought, the forms of sacred music and living milieux.

⁶⁹ Note sur la structure de la sociologie religieuse, in L'Année sociologique, 1950.
70 Hesitation as to terminology, enormous gaps in information, inevitable, but deplorable; the base of calculations of ratio, absence of maps and graphs, insufficient reference to kindred sciences; I could prolong this confession without being sure that I had mentioned all the weaknesses which I have the firm purpose of amending.

Memoir of the Institute of political studies.
 Memoir of the École des Hautes-Études.

⁷³ Result of a thorough and methodical investigation.

Memoir of the Institut d'études politiques.
 Memoir of the Institut d'études politiques.

⁷⁶ Sévérac (Loire-Inférieure) and Charny (Yonne). Theses for the Faculty of Law in Paris.

Mediaeval history has been usefully revised by the Abbé Adam,⁷⁷ by M. Diebold, ⁷⁸ and modern history by M. Join-Lambert. ⁷⁹ Recent controversies on the position of the Church in France during the XIX century have questioned its structure, vitality, the collective passions which animated it and which it roused in a disrupted world. ⁸⁰

Enquiries have been undertaken under the auspices of the Centre of Sociological Studies in regions of various types. Others have been encouraged or paid for by it. 81

All these works, which I have had the honour of directing suffer from the shortcomings of a young science. But they contain useful material and are full of promise.

Theses and memoirs are in preparation (most of them nearly ready) which will enlighten us as to a town, a canton, a country, a diocese and a milieu. Rouen, St.-Claude, and even Paris will give up the secret of their various quarters; ⁹² cantons such as Lamarche (Haute-Marne) will demonstrate the different phases of their variety in religion; ⁸³ the Eastern area, the great suburb, the basin of Alès, will reveal to us regional temperaments or professional variations; ³⁴ the dioceses of Châlons, Nancy, Montpellier, Luçon will show up the contrasts in habitations, population, attractions.

History will be honoured by four learned persons who will tell us about the structure and state of religion in the Paris, Autun and

⁷⁷ La décadence de la vie paroissiale au XIV° siècle. Thesis of the University of Strasburg. The abbé Adam has carefully examined all the testimony concerning religious practice.

⁷⁸ La pratique religieuse d'après les statuts synodaux (1215-1545). Memoir of the École pratique des Hautes-Études.

⁷⁹ Recherches sur la pratique religieuse dans le diocèse de Rouen de 1660 à 1789. Memoir for the diploma of historical studies.

⁸⁰ The studies of H. Guillemin are noteworthy.

⁸¹ I have summarised the conclusions reached in an article in the *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*. The study of the abbé Kerleveo on two maritime parishes of the diocese of St. Brieuc is an exact application of the methods recommended by us.

⁸² Abbé Quoist has given us the beginning of his vigourous study on Rouen, which we hope to see printed in 1951. — A thesis of the doctorate of letters is on the urban and industrial population of the Jura. — Several others are on the Parisian proletariat, one memoir on the bourgeoisie.

⁸³ Thesis of doctorate in law, promised for May 1951.

⁸⁴ A large part of the thesis for the LLD of M. RAILLIET will be on the enquiries into religious practice in Champagne and Lorraine; that of M. DESTRAIS on the evolution of the environs of Paris. The Abbé Chambon has for some years explored the region of Alès.

Poitiers dioceses under the Ancien Regime, and of Troyes under the second Empire. 85 I have promised a "Sociologie du catholicis-

me dans la France contemporaine." 86

Such are the works and plans of professional sociology. ⁸⁷ We will now sum up in a short and methodical synthesis the work of seekers and thinkers of all schools, the practical consequences of intellectual effort, so as to suggest programmes for research and meditation.

Ш

A glance at what has been done in France, may seem infinitesimal in the immense field of religious sociology, yet it should not discourage the pioneers. They have begun to build an edifice which their followers will make majestic. Their reward, superior to their merits, ⁸⁸ has been the sympathetic goodwill of the University as well as the Church. ⁸⁹ This kindly disposition and also their perfect agreement (which differences of aims, programmes and means has never altered), give grounds for high hopes. ⁹⁰

Real problems have appeared: to the biographies of bishops, the pictures of institutions, the analysis of doctrines, is to be added the biography of the Christian people. How do they practice their religion, in the Church and in the world? If consciences are inaccessible, at least we can observe their habitations and note the least signs of their existence and requirements. Psychol-

⁸⁵ Paris: thesis (Faculty of Letters at Besançon); Autun: thesis (Faculty of Letters at Dijon); Poitiers: thesis (École des Chartes); Troyes: memoir (School of Higher Studies).

⁸⁶ Library of contemporary sociology edited by Georges Gurvitch.

⁸⁷ I have omitted several beginnings whose future is less well assured; an enquiry as to the opinions and practice of the pupils of the Institute of political studies is in course of preparation at the National Institute of demographic studies. Works have been begun on the valley of the Canche, the canton of Voiteur, Limagne, and in many dioceses, the seekers limiting the sphere of their enquiries.

⁸⁸ This judgment applies to the author of the present article.

⁸⁹ Most of the bishops have facilitated my work and it has often been enough for me to express a wish to have all possible means put at my disposal. As for the Higher Education and the Centre of scientific research, their welcome has been constant and warm. Amongst twenty brilliant helpers, I confine myself to the mention of Lucien Febvre (article in *Annales*, 1943), and André Siegfried, who have been masters and companions in labour. Amongst those now dead: Éd. Jordan, Marc Bloch, Maurice Halbwachs, Camille Bouglé.

 $^{^{90}}$ The cordial cooperation of all enquirers is so rare that I emphasise this good fortune.

ogy and religious sociology are closely linked. In all directions the gaze of the searcher is called for and I would like to point out where they have exercised it with wisdom. They are discovering, in fact, the whole spectacle of Catholicism. And we owe them the sociology of its reign in France.

First, a morphology of the Church. The dossier of his establishment in regions and in social strata reveals to us the true proportions of its visible body, which pure intellectuals (which are to be found even among theologians) see only in a harmonious and consoling doctrine or which they identify with canon law. The vigor of this body, the human causes and consequences of its growth and decline, sociology seeks to discover, using means and criteria applicable to all organised groups. The sociologist judges the credit and debit sides of this province of the Universal Church with regard to the temporal society in which it lives, and which treats it, sometimes as one of its members or as its spiritual expression, sometimes as a foreign power, whose help or death it seeks.

The pure sociologist stops here. It is not for him to judge, still less to advise the Church. But apostolic men go further. Their aim is not only to diagnose but to suggest the remedies. ⁹¹ Never since the XV century has such a critical examination been made of the Church's institutions: the decay of the parish system, poor organisation of the clergy, mistakes due to exclusiveness of dioceses, defects in adaptation of teaching authority, of the ministry and of the liturgy, in consequence of ecclesiastical routine and secular troubles; the anomaly of a society of practising members alongside people who are indifferently idle or who profess a new ideal.

These painful facts (besides many others) are mentioned in a tone of affectionate respect. The final object of censors is not revolution but reform. Their reaction is just as ardent against the socialisation of what is sacred as against the individualism of Christians. Class or clannish Catholicism repels them; they teach personal contact with God, the scrupulous exercise of the evangelical virtues. But they desire to build up praying communities and rebuild Christian unity, to cause the Church to penetrate those milieux of work and play which are far removed from it.

Here then is a science for the atheist as for the Christian; it can serve the cause of irreligion just as much as that of religion; but it always raises man above himself, fosters mutual understanding and, when cultivated by Christian thinkers exalts spiritual sol-

⁹¹ Obviously, they use the work of professional sociologists who are often glad to serve a good end.

idarity, the search for the divine, the use of the best methods for bringing back into the Christian community those who have deserted it.

The lessons of so many teachers and research workers have not remained dead letters in books or wasted in the air of lecture rooms. They have inspired or clarified reforms in structure and method which are one of the present signs of the vitality of Catholicism and in which the readers of this review are especially interested.

No science was indispensable for the remodelling of parochial work. The lack of priests and often of faithful was enough to impose it. But would not an exact knowledge of available helpers, of their solidarity and habitations render easier the new distribution of the French diocesan clergy? Many episcopal decisions suggest an affirmative answer. 92

We must use any science necessary for adapting the liturgy and preaching to 1951. Psychology suggested the necessary changes to men of tact. But would not a census of the faithful in the locality, an analysis of the reactions in their various groups (correctly differentiated) help the correction of methods and even the society of instructors? We can already estimate the success of certain experiments which would not even have been thought of but for a sociological analysis of the community. ⁹³

We must discover the need for a new evangelisation and the methods which would help it. Priests and missionaries are not wasting their time by classifying all the elements of secular society under their care and re-arranging the disposal of the ministers of Jesus-Christ (and their lay assistants). We know the opinion of both. We have been given the answer of the committee of parochial missions ⁹⁴ as well as that of la Creuse. ⁹⁵

⁹² We could quote the case of more than one French bishop who, after reading a sociological study of his diocese, has put right certain practices and reshaped some structures.

⁹³ The organisation of missionary deaneries and priestly communities has been made after an analysis of this kind. Undertakings like that of M. MICHONNEAU and M. RÉTIF at Bois-Colombes implies a sociology of the local church which justifies one of the civil community. Both have written their observations and methods in Evely style in the collection *Rencontres*.

⁹⁴ Director: Fr. Motte, 47, rue des Solitaires, Paris XIX^e. We know what a long study of sociological conditions preceded the recent mission in the Sambre.

⁹⁵ The Dean of Pontarion has recently let us know the results of patient work on the people which he is evangelising and on the ecclesiastical structures which it requires.

The future is not for those who wait for God to do their work for them. 96

Considering the position of things in France, is it not essential to work out a policy of clerical manpower, coordination of various activities, remodelling of congregations, educational programme, the very structure of the Church of France, and all this in the spirit of and using the methods of a rigorous sociology? The books and articles which we have quoted above have convinced several superiors, and none have been left indifferent. 97

Never a week goes by without my receiving some article, notes or plans. 98 Many ask me for suggestions for the study of a parish, a milieu, or a large problem.

What more opportune occasion is there to answer these three categories of sympathetic clients, than here?

Criteria have been fixed for the examination of a parish; they are at the disposal of any cleric or instructed layman. Let us summarise them for the benefit of observors in a rural community.

- 1. All the inhabitants of the place will have a card with their family, sex, age, profession and social class (bourgeois, middle class, proletarian). Each of the statistics mentioned below must come under one or the other category thus marked out.
- 2. A sign will show attendance at Mass, at Easter duties, and, if there is room, known hindrances (grave illness, Sunday work). Since we are concerned with public actions there is no indiscretion in underlining performance. One might thus fix the proportions: 130 adult men, out of which 10 are hindered; 36 paschal duties makes 30 %; if one takes 6 landowners or large agriculturalists out of 10, 21 small farmers, artisans and business men out of 50, and 9 workmen out of 70, the picture will "speak."
- 3. For the acts of seasonal conformity 99 the same calculations, by social categories: normal delays in baptism, number and proportion of the non-baptised, aged 6 months, one year, 2 years, 5 years; those catechised in the course of the last three years; the last sacraments (extreme unction, viaticum); taking sudden deaths into account and also the strength of the dying.

⁹⁶ Besides the enemies of all novelty, the sociologists have to contend with those only interested in spiritual matters, the impatient and the scorners of science.

⁹⁷ The need for organs of centralisation, information and action is attested by the daily experience and by recent creations.

⁹⁸ I have only quoted elaborate works. In my archives there are several hundreds of reports or special studies. And even some manuscript memoirs of priest observors who are anxious to bear their testimony.

⁹⁹ Recall the series: baptism, first communion, marriage, burial; each of these acts is in the centre or at the end of a whole cycle.

- 4. What is the attendance (always in the same categories) at the Masses of All Saints, Palm Sunday, and other feasts? What is the attendance at the exercises of a mission?
- 5. The attitude of the faithful at Mass (singing, books, rosaries). Signs of fervour, indifference, boredom?
- 6. Number of weekly communions, monthlies, at the great feasts. Members of works of zeal. Ecclesiastical and religious vocations since 1900. Amount of exterior devotion to God and the Church.
- 7. Birthrate in the *devout* families. Religious category of large families (more than 3 children). Illegitimate births. Divorces and living apart.
- 8. Morality in business and in social relations, of the various categories of the practising. Alcoholism. Suicides.
- 9. What indications of enlightened orthodox faith? Or, on the contrary, of ignorance, superstition, weakness?
- 10. Attitude of the non-practising with regard to religion, the Church, the practising Catholics?
- 11. Comparison with neighbouring parishes. Graph of interior changes for last century.
 - 12. The apparent causes of rise, maintenance, decline in religious vitality.

Direct observation will furnish some of the answers. Many of them are written in the parish registers and the various books which the clergy keep. Naturally the parish priest is the best qualified to answer: but there are things which he cannot see (attitudes); others which he often does not know (details of the past); in all cases he needs for a large enquiry the help of the most intelligent of his faithful.

We have taken as the centre of our observations the parish, elementary institution of the Church, the traditional place of assembly for persons and documents. Is it necessary to add that a sociologist must observe equally attentively the Christian communities which arise on the edge of the canonical organisation? Is not one of the most fascinating problems that posed by the need, spirit, success, of these new Christian groups?

They are springing up in the suburbs, the slums, the deserts of the visible Church; they are not so easy to explore, but the work will attract the curiosity of those souls who are ardent, uneasy,

or simply bored by officialdom.

Then again, all those well-defined work groups can be considered: the factory, office, rural workers. Each of these social milieux calls us, and not only the Church, deserted by the majority of men of the old Christian stock.

Our observation today is carried on in the societies outside the parish. It is in the cadres of modern society that we seek the dispositions of the French with regard to religion, Christianity, the Church. The parishes can only tell us of the traditional state. Outside them are growing up Christian groups which interest the sociologist by the novelty of their structure and the richness of their faith and charity: the "Mission de Paris" furnishes the most well-known examples. ¹⁰⁰ Priest workers and lay apostles radiate Christianity and their experience informs us of the religion and irreligion of the masses and the groups, and will reveal to us the structures adequate to this paganised world. ¹⁰¹

To those who are investigating more widespread subjects, geog-

raphy, psychology, history offer infinite perspectives.

The borderlines between practice and indifference are still ill-defined. There is nothing more interesting than the study of frontiers: these valleys, heights, wooded slopes which separate unfriendly peoples. Léon-Trécor, Marche-Combrailles, Northern and Southern Vendée are examples of contrasts in regions separated by a river, heights, woods, and the interplay of adverse influences can be studied.

Of all the subjects of study, religious practice is the easiest because the most superficial. We desire explorations of souls which will make known to us the regions of the faith, of conscience, religious sentiment. Enquiries as to the content and intensity of the beliefs of a milieu — parish, college, workshop — could be undertaken by patient and discreet interrogators who would neglect nothing of the individual and social complexes.

Have we advanced far enough in the discovery of causes, which alone will elevate our science from the descriptive role to that of an exact interpretation with its laws? One cannot say so, and a vast field is open to scholars. It is particularly open in the sphere of history. How was the evangelisation of each country carried out, from the IV century to the XX, specially in modern times? What shocks have unsettled each canton, class, social group? What institutions (monasteries, chapters), what men (doctrinaries, missionaries) have influenced them?

* *

When the programme which we have proposed has been finished we shall be at the end of the world: for it concerns human problems that renew themselves down the ages. They include all the human

¹⁰⁰ A memoir is in preparation concerning one of these christianities.

¹⁰¹ Very interesting notes of observations have already been sent to us concerning families and factories.

sciences and could furnish material for a chair for each in a perfect School of the Higher Studies of religious sociology.

All those who have a passion for knowledge wish for such an institution, of which we have only sketched today one section, for catholicism ¹⁰² and in one country, to be erected by some nation. Why not by France? ¹⁰³ Of all the sciences, none would derive greater profit than the pastorate, whose ideal is to transform the Church militant into the Church triumphant: the most wonderful of palingeneses which a sociologist could dream of.

¹⁰² Protestantism and Judaism have been investigated by learned researchworkers (Léonard, Garrisson, Kaplan, Roblin) to whom we have the pleasure of being united in several ways.

¹⁰³ The natural seat for it would be the section of religious sciences at the School of Higher Studies, the only establishment in the world where 24 chairs and many temporary lectures include the entire history of religion.

Sociological Analyses of the Religious and Social Position in the Netherlands

by G. H. L. ZEEGERS

Professor at the University of Nimeguen, Head of the "Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut," The Hague 1

The purpose of this third International Conference of Religious Sociology is to describe, on the one hand, the state of the positive social sciences in the sphere of religion and ecclesiastical life, and, on the other, their application to the pastorate.

The Conference gives the participants the opportunity of mutual discussion of their problems and methods. In this way our attention will perhaps be drawn to the problems which we have not as yet recognised as existing and our methods will be improved by others' experience. It is also greatly to be hoped that, thanks to these meetings, agreement as to a *universal method* will be reached among all the investigators of religious sociology.

By means of this method, some problems of a general nature

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will be studied with a view to forming, by comparison, a clearer notion of the state of Christianity, especially the Catholic Church, and of the problems to be solved. There come to mind the work of Professor Le Bras on religious practice in France and of Canon Boulard on ecclesiastical vocations. In the Netherlands like studies have been undertaken. For all countries with mixed creeds, the study of the problem of mixed marriages is very important. One might mention other subjects: the relations between the political structure and religious life, conjugal morals, and morality in general. The greatest possible uniformity is urgently needed, chiefly in choice of methods and the formulation of results.

This uniformity would not exclude the adaptation to the concrete situation and ecclesiastical problems in each country. That is why my task will be to show in the first place the position of the Catholic Church in the Netherlands and its problems; then, the way in which our Institute proposes to furnish its contribution by means of scientific enquiries, to the solution of these problems.

I. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE LOW COUNTRIES. THE PROBLEMS RAISED

In many circles, the Netherlands is considered a Protestant country. Historically this opinion may be defended, although, even under this head, the adherents of a Protestant interpretation of history give a partial picture of affairs. The Protestant predominance in the past has doubtless left traces in the present day: the Protestant theological faculties are associated with the universities; the more or less puritan spirit of the people in the north of the rivers has stamped the national character; in the Netherlands many Protestants today consider themselves as the main representatives of the Netherlands tradition; the Church called "Nederlands-Hervormd" has reaffirmed of late its claim to be the real national church. It has however become more and more evident that the population of the Low Countries can no longer be looked upon as a Protestant people. This is for three reasons: first, there is a weakening, a breaking up, a dechristianisation, amongst the protestants; secondly, those who do not belong to any denomination are increasing in numbers; thirdly, the Catholic group is continually growing in number and influence. At present, the Dutch are composed of three groups: the Catholics (38.5 % in 1947); the Protestants (42 %), and the non-confessional (17 %). However, only the Catholics form a homogeneous community dogmatically, ecclesiastically and politically. The number of Catholics and of undenominational is growing, that of the Protestants is steadily diminishing.

Protestantism in the Netherlands has undergone a great crisis; internal divisions and weakness owing to defections. In the last century this crisis resulted in a scission. A large number of orthodox broke away to form the "Reformed Churches."

A religious revival, dating from recent years, has shown itself in a reorganisation and new effort of the pastorate. The separatist "reformed churchmen" are distinguished for their cohesion; they form the extreme right of protestant orthodoxy.

The group of those with no denomination has been formed chiefly at the expense of the Protestants, but also in a certain degree, Catholics, chiefly through mixed marriages. It is more numerous and influential that in other countries. The line of demarcation between the confessional groups is more marked in the Low Countries than elsewhere. Religious practice is more regular among the faithful, but there are a large number of lapsed, and this number is still increasing.

The position of *Catholicism* may be summed up as follows: Catholics contribute more than others to the considerable increase in the population; consequently, the Church occupies an increasingly important place. It may be expected that this progress will be maintained for a time at least. The favourable structure of the age pyramid indicates this.

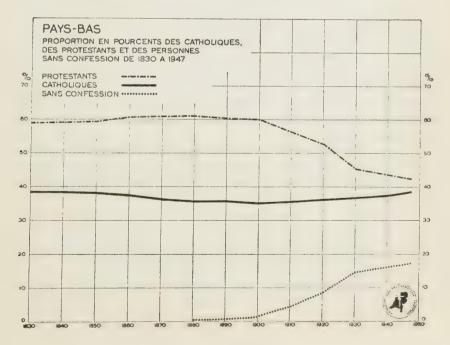


TABLE I. The Catholic population as percentage of the total population of Holland.

age	%	age	%
0-14	43.6	45-59	33.1
15-29	40.5	60-74	32.7
30-44	35.8	75 plus	32.3

In 1947, 38.5 % of the people of the whole country were Catholic. Of children born in 1949, 46.1 % were Catholic.

By reason of the greater fecundity of Catholic marriages, the number of the Catholic population will not cease to rise, on condition that the Church succeeds in retaining these children when they grow up and reach adult age. The responsibility of the Church will be no less towards those, perhaps a great number, who emigrate.

The annual increase in the population was 100.000 before the war; in 1946 it rose to a little more than 200.000; it is at present stationary at 150.000. This increase gives rise to urgent problems, for this growing population must be able to support itself. Naturally, this question concerns the Catholics more nearly for their burdens are heavier.

Besides this natural growth of Catholicism, there is also the spiritual growth by means of conversions. These have become so numerous that they exercise an important influence from the quantitative point of view as well as the qualitative.

The vitality of the Catholic Church in the Low Countries is shown by certain facts: trades-unions, primary, secondary and university education, the large number of vocations, the large number of hospitals and other institutions, extraordinary missionary activity, the increasing influence which Catholics are exercising in all spheres of life. On the other side of the picture, there are other less favourable factors: the leakage and the general dechristianisation.

The leakage always exceeds the conversions. Whilst there were 55.000 conversions in the years 1930-47, we must count 120.000 lapsed. Mixed marriages contributes far more to dechristianisation than to conversions and recruitment.

II. SOCIOLOGICAL WORK OF THE "KATHOLIEK SOCIAAL-KERKELIJK INSTITUUT"

I. Diagnosis of dechristianisation.

Enquiry as to causes.

Religious practice among Catholics.— The directors of the Institute are occupied with the problem of the lapsed. Consequently an enquiry has been carried out concerning the fact and circumstances of apostasy, and also the symptoms.

We have therefore examined the *quality* of Catholics, as far as it is possible to estimate it by taking into consideration the performance of Easter duties, the decision to contract a mixed marriage, the number of Communions, fidelity to Sunday Mass, etc. The figures from the parishes have been thoroughly analysed by the Institute.

By way of specimen, we reproduce here the map which represents the percentage of those not doing Easter duties.

Several publications concerning statistics are in preparation. ² We will here confine ourselves to remarking that one region differs greatly from another in its Catholic practice. This fact, established by our enquiry, is all the more surprising owing to the small size of the country.

Connection between the religious and political organisation of the country. — We carried out our investigations among all religious denominations. We consulted the figures of the national census and also in each district the percentage of those who claimed membership of a church or sect and those adhering to none. ³ We then compared the cartogram of the distribution of the "non-denominational" with that of the votes collected by the communists at the last elections. The correlation is apparent.

Enquiries of this kind aid in discovering which are the irreligious homes. Cartograms prove that apostasy — which is obviously a matter for personal decision — also depends on social factors.

² A study by Frs. Staverman, O. F. M. and B. Van Leeuwen, O. F. M. as to the increase in mixed marriages in certain dioceses of Holland. — A study by Fr. Grond, O. F. M., concerning attendance at Sunday Mass in the churches of Amsterdam and Maastricht.

³ In Holland, each citizen has to state at the time of the census, whether he belongs to any religion and if so, to state which (Editor's note).

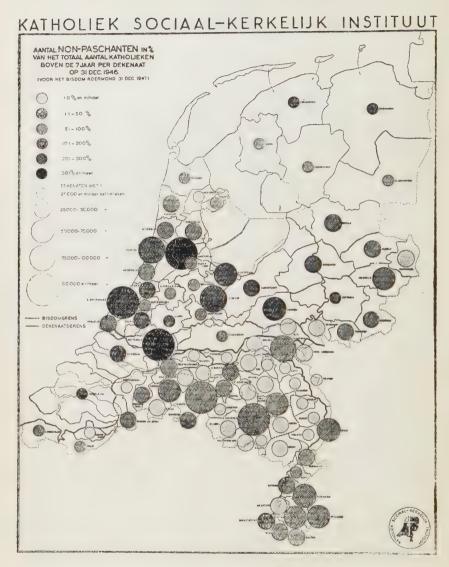


CHART REPRESENTING THE PERCENTAGE OF THOSE NOT DOING EASTER DUTIES

It is important that individual motives should be assiduously examined, for there is a great difference between men's words, their convictions, and their real psychological position.

Connection between the religious and profane structures. — Next, we compared the organisation of Catholics, of other creeds, and the political structures as regards various social and economic aspects: income, housing, unemployment, working conditions, women in industry, growth of the population, etc.

Comparison between the cartogram giving the average income per individual and commune (see the chart) and that of the distribution of Catholics (see following) is revealing. It tells us that the Dutch Catholics live chiefly in the poorest districts of the country (Brabant, Limburg). According to my estimate, they own no more than about 25 % of the national income, although they form nearly 40 % of the total population and contribute to its annual growth by about 50 %.

The importance of these figures cannot be overestimated by those who are in charge of the administration of the Church and the direction of works of zeal

All the same, having been aware of a certain lack of understanding of positive social studies, we have set ourselves to overcome it by the study of the problems with which the clergy are preoccupied, such as the *building of churches*. This needs precise information on a number of points.

2. Planning of churches.

The rapid increase of the population demands the building of twenty new churches every year.

Since 1940 (and since 1945 in the diocese of Haarlem), there have been almost no new buildings, which according to my estimate, means an arrears of from 200 to 250 churches. From now till 1970 we shall need about 350 to 400 churches, having regard to the growth of the population. That means a total of 550 to 650 churches to be built before 1970, if we would keep up the standard set in 1930. That would mean an investment of about 66 millions of dollars.

This programme is impossible to carry out. The war has disrupted our economic life. Holland is the country which has suffered most from the war. At the end of it, most of its industrial equipment had disappeared, and since then, we have lost our colonies.

Nowadays, skilled workers are rare; materials are lacking in



GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CATHOLICS IN THE NETHERLANDS

RIJKSDIENST VOOR HET NATIONALE PLAN GEMIDDELD BEDRAG IN GULDENS DER IN DE BELASTING VALLENDE VERMOGENS PER INWONER OP I MEI 1939 PER GEMEENTE 501 - 750 751 - 1000 1001 - 1250 1251 - 1500 1501 - 2000 2001 - 3000 3001 - 5000 1 5001 E. -E SCHAAL 1:600 000 TEKENING Nº 594 GET.VR. GEZ.

Comparative Chart showing the difference between the denominational and the economic structure of the country: average income in florins per inhabitant and per borough.



the building trade: during the post-war years the population increased faster than the houses, which is why the authorities have been forced to allocate the amount of building; and there is no reason to believe that this situation will change soon (say, before ten years' time).

A certain amount of building is allowed to the ecclesiastical authorities. How can it be best used? It is not only the architect who asks: "Where is this church to be put and how many is it to hold?" The ecclesiastical authorities themselves must answer this question, and they cannot do so without thorough investigation.

There is another circumstance which forces planning upon us, namely the state of church finances. We have no "church tax," and we are therefore obliged to study very closely all problems which involve money. Inadequate resources are a continual obstacle to the proper carrying out of pastoral duties.

The site and size of the church depend on the extent of the parish area. Several churches — especially in the large towns — serve an area beyond the parish. The position with regard to the small parishes is also important. Might we not envisage an eventual change in the parochial boundaries, before going on to the expensive construction of the church?

The size of the church does not only depend on the size of the parish, but chiefly on the fervour (Sunday mass) of the flock, the number of masses and of those who go to each.

To rule needs foresight. It is not enough to choose the most favourable site and settle upon the size in accordance with the present extent of the parish. Account must also be taken of a possible change in numbers as well as in distribution of the Catholic population.

Drawing up plans for the construction of churches brings us up against all the essential problems which confront the clergy. Our Institute undertakes absolutely fundamental researches in order to reply pertinently to questions regarding church building.

3. Planning of hospitals and schools.

After the first step on the road of planning, one must go on further: hospitals must be schemed for. The problem is almost identical; we have to take care to use our funds reasonably.

Next, the planning of schools calls for our attention, and so on.

This work of planning — let us remark — has its social as well as its technical aspect; its success depends in fact on a careful investigation of social conditions and consequences. For instance, is it reasonable to build a church when you do not know whether there will be priests to serve it? (here comes in the question of vocations). What kind of school is needed? Technical or middle? Are engineers or doctors required? And to solve this latter question, should one not foresee the need for hospitals and clinics? All these matters connected with the social order present themselves when we are studying how best to use our limited means.

Our Institute looks at them in a practical way; it makes them the subject of investigations carried out by its different sections.

The section for *planning churches* gives advice on their construction; its activities are at present confined to the Haarlem diocese. One of our collaborators, the Rev. Dellepoort, studies in particular the question of *priestly vocations*, which is linked up with the other.

The section for Catholic schools works in close touch with the central Catholic bureau for education. Its scholastic enquiry, with regard to sociology, contains every variety of teaching (primary, secondary, technical, domestic training, agricultural, higher, etc.).

The Institute issues cartograms indicating the habitat of the pupils of secondary schools. Detailed studies concerning some of the primary schools at Amsterdam and the secondary ones of Leyde and Heerlen have been made. A report foreshadowing the approximate number of students likely to be enrolled at the Faculty of Medicine at Nimeguen University has been compiled for the next twenty years.

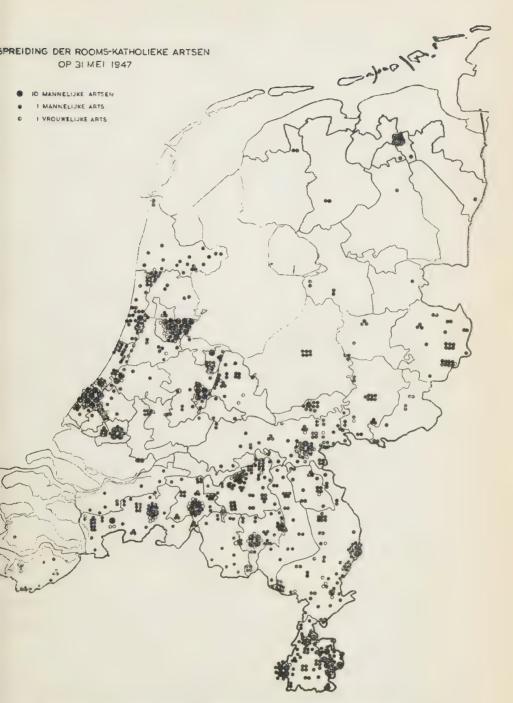
For this, enquiries have been carried out as to the number of doctors, especially Catholics, needed today or in the near future.

The Dutch Catholics (38.5 % of the population) are responsible for the endowment of more than 50 % of the beds in the hospitals; clear proof of their charity! But against this, Catholic doctors form hardly 20 % of the medical body in the country.

The following table shows that this situation has improved.

TABLE II. Catholic doctors and medical students percentage of all the doctors in Holland on the 31 December 1947.

Catholic	student	s (19	47 /48)	26
,	doctors			23
9	7	,	30-34	21
,	,	,	35-39	20
,	,	,	40-44	18
,	,		45-49	19



GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE CATHOLIC DOCTORS IN MEDICINE

Similar sociological enquiries are carried on in the spheres of politics and charitable works. They serve as the basis of schemes of which the Church authorities can later make use.

4. Need for a demographic study.

All these undertakings presuppose very exact data concerning demographic evolution of the Dutch people in general, and the

Catholic section in particular.

The Institute has secured the services of a specialist in these questions: Dr. J. Godefroy, who directs the department of demographic studies, which are at the base of our planning activities. All schemes for churches, schools, hospitals, must take into account the probable growth of the people for whom the buildings are destined.

A detailed study of the birthrate is required for two reasons: the Dutch are among the most fertile of the white races; they owe this superiority, unparalleled in Europe, to the Catholics

among them.

All the same, the population is tending to diminish slowly. This phenomenon is being followed with close attention. Fundamentally, this decline raises moral and psycho-sociological problems; our experts are occupied with estimating, through statistics, the influence of other factors such as the decrease in number

of marriages, late marriage, etc.

We may mention an enquiry lately held by our Institute as to the frequency of marriages celebrated for reasons of necessity in Holland in 1947 and 1949; domicile and creed of the couples are carefully noted. These data, compared with the corresponding pre-war figures, enable the changes in the behaviour of the various groups to be ascertained. One result is already known: as far as civil marriages are concerned, those of necessity are less frequent among Catholics and Calvinists than among others.

5. The national and regional problems.

All these works of positive sociology must be carried on both on the national and regional sides.

The rapid increase in our population presents the Church with the inevitable problem of a lowering standard of prosperity and a rising number of members. And so we are studying various regional schemes concerning Catholics, especially in those regions where prosperity is threatened. We hope to incorporate these regional plans into one which will include all the Catholics in Holland and into one on a national scale.

It can be seen that our Institute is working very thoroughly on all these problems. Consequently, while engaged on these practical questions and keeping up to date with them, it is accomplishing an eminently scientific work.

The success of its labours abroad is good evidence of this. Certainly, in various countries, religious sociology, if not sociography, is fairly developed. But almost everywhere, people do not bother to utilise methods and results of investigations in the solving of the practical problems facing the clergy.

III. SOCIOLOGICAL WORK OF PROTESTANTS

It is a remarkable fact that the Dutch Protestants have been working on the same lines as ourselves in religious sociology.

In 1945 they formed the Institute of "Kerk en Wereld" for educational purposes in both religious and social fields for the rechristianisation of Dutch Protestants. ⁴ A group of "workers," "Wikas" (churchworkers) labour all over the country in close collaboration with the Institute.

Here are some facts as to the work done since 1945 at the Institute ⁵ by the Dutch Protestants, especially those belonging to the Reformed Church.

The Protestant church, especially the "Dutch Reformed," is faced with a capital problem: the wave of apostasy which has since 1870 come over the Protestant faith in Holland.

The Institute hopes, by means of scientific enquiries, to second the efforts of the church to face up to this situation. Its principle is to reach individuals in their own surroundings: in their occupations, families, social groups, professions, all their social relationships. All these investigations as to the demographical, economic, social, religious, cultural activities of the Dutch are inspired by this hope.

We can therefore affirm that the "Kerk en Wereld" and our own Institute are dealing with the same problems and have many points on our programmes in common.

One of the founders is Professor J. P. KRUYT.

The following facts have been taken from the brochure called "Arbeid en Taak van het Sociologisch Instituut der Stichting "Kerk en Wereld", by Professor Dr. W. BANNING, 1950.

- NOTE. The ,, Kerk en Wereld "has undertaken the following enquiries (some finished, others still in course of being carried on):
- I. Enquiry as to the mentality of the post-war youth: see the book Hoe leeft en denkt onze jeugd? (How do our young people live and think?).
- 2. A widespread enquiry as to "pastoral sociography," the aim being to collect all data necessary for pastoral action in Holland.
- 3. An enquiry as to the *repercussions of industrialisation* on the religious life of the Church and the spiritual life of the worker. This enquiry was undertaken to second the task of the Church in those districts of Holland now being industrialised.
- 4. Collaboration with the enquiry carried on by the Government as to the mentality of the youth of the working people.
- 5. Enquiry on the financial situation of the pastors of the Reformed Church.
- The "Kerk en Wereld" publishes a Quarterly Sociological Bulletin, which gives detailed accounts of their enquiries.

Realism and Observation of Moral and Religious Facts in Belgium

by Giovanni Hoyois,

President of Catholic Action for Men, Secretary of the "Union Internationale d'études sociales" at Malines 1

I. Origin of the Movement.

The collection of facts concerning morals and religion has aroused a growing interest in Belgium over a number of years. The visible weakening of religious practice and a deep change in customs has drawn attention in those directions. Those who have the care of souls — clergy and teachers — have testified to a rupture from ancient traditions which used to provide a spiritual reinforcement to social life. This awareness goes back to late in the nineteenth century when the apostasy of a large section of the working classes revealed that it was a mass phenomenon. Yet more than a quarter of a century was to elapse before the consequences were fully apparent in the sphere with which we are now dealing.

After the 1914 war a new wave of defections aroused a spirit of renewal by action in the Catholic body. Hitherto we had relied on the old methods for combating impiety and evil conduct. Then came the idea of adopting a new language, making new approaches, and renewing the style of preaching and evangelisation. It was realised that the unbeliever is not so much an enemy to be fought as a brother to whom light should be offered. Defaulting Christians, if sinners, fell under many influences which held them victims. A whole generation took up this point of view; it was to bring about a re-orientation of pastoral theology and give rise to various activities which were called Catholic Action in the strict sense of the term. These new groupings at work in the sphere of

¹ See the biographical notice in *Lumen Vitae*, III (1948), p. 224. — Address 80, rue des Deux-Églises, Brussels, Brigium (Editor's note).

religion and morals, had to grope their way. Soon they realised that, if their methods were to be efficient, these must be adapted to the varying capacities of different social classes; to act upon the workman he must be approached in worker style, and in the same way, for the rechristianisation of the country side, the rural dweller calls for a corresponding technique. Thus, under pressure of circumstances, a realism was developed which we may say has now become quite general.

This trend of action was followed by a trend of thought both in the sphere of sociology and of pastoral theology. In his numerous writings Canon Leclercq has always insisted on the need for facts in moral and religious matters. With Le Play social science was at its inception grounded in Christianity; but later, with Durkheim and Lévy-Brühl, it appeared as a manœuvre to destroy in men's minds the sense of the spiritual, the consciousness of human liberty and the transcendance of religion. Has this led to a distrust of sociology? Perhaps it explains a tardiness on the part of Catholics in applying it to the realities of today. The Louvain professor wants to clear away such doubt and hesitancy. He shows that the careful observation of facts does not mean submission to them, but provides the best light for action. His books, teaching and activity as head of the Institut de Recherches Économiques et Sociales have greatly contributed to the development of religious sociology in Belgium. 2 Outside pure sociology several authors have shown the need for understanding the age in which we live by looking on it as it really is and by grasping the external surroundings of modern man as well as his interior springs of action 3

² Cf. Jacques Leclerco, Introduction à la sociologie, Institut de Recherches Écon. Soc. Univ. Louvain, 1948, 272 pp., especially pp. 140-181. By the same author: Les problèmes de la sociologie religieuse, in Bull. Inst. Rech. Écon. Sociales Univ. Louv., t. XIII, no. 7, June 1948, pp. 683-693, and Sociologie et morale, ibid., April 1949, pp. 685-698.

A course in religious sociology is given at the University of Louvain in French by M. l'abbé Eug. Collard, head of the publications department of the diocese of Tournai and in Dutch by the Reverend N. De Volder, O. F. M.

³ The works of M. Marcel De Corte, professor at the University of Liège, are in this spirit. They are a vigorous reaction against abstract conceptions of man and society. *Incarnation de l'homme. Psychologic des mœurs contemporaines*, Brussels, Édit. Univers., 1943, 280 pp. — *Essai sur la fin d'une civilisation*, Brussels, Éd. Univers., 1949, 250 pp. — See also the collection *L'homme nouveau*, Coll. Études de pastorale, 1, Louvain, Nauwelaerts, 1947, 298 pp. (Abbés R. Aubert, A. Zweiffel, Ch. Moeller, L. Fourneau, A. Minon, Canon J. Leclerco, Canon A. Dondeyne).

In the religious sphere, we must note another work by Canon J. LECLERCQ giving the same point of view: La vie du Christ dans son Église, Paris, Le Cerf, 1944, 250 pp.

Besides this intellectual work, we have authors gathering the fruits of experience with the object of infusing a new spirit into certain sectors of traditional pastoral work. Adaptation is the keynote of this tendency. It has been so often explained, occupies so large a place in ecclesiastical reviews and publications of Catholic Action that we need here only give it in general outline. ⁴

The Belgian bishops have supported with their authority the apostolic realism which is to be found in so many works of zeal. On certain occasions the idea of a careful enquiry into facts, as an aid to action, has received their blessing. ⁵

We have now indicated the origins of a movement which has been thus developed in various ways. We will now consider the different sectors covered and show what has been done.

2. General Studies.

The religious position in Belgium has not been the subject of much outstanding study. The information gathered by the bishops is usually confidential. As far as we are aware, only the general enquiry into religious practice and works of zeal launched by the bishop of Namur in 1946 has resulted in any studies being published. ⁶

This great synthesis concerns the meeting of the divine and human in the Church. The whole human being must be looked at and understood, with all that is good and bad in him, with the mobility and change that belongs to him.

⁴ See Léon DE CONINCK, S. J., Les problèmes de l'adaptation en apostolat, in Nouvelle Revue Théolog.: I. Généralités sur le problème de l'adaptation, t. 68, no. 6, Oct. 1946, pp. 683-690; II. L'enseignement religioux, t. 68, no. 7, Nov.-Dec. 1946, pp. 799-818; III. Le monde du travail, t. 69, no 3, March 1947, pp. 284-305; IV. La paroisse réadaptée, t. 70, no. 1, Jan. 1948, pp. 48-66.

Entretiens sacerdotaux de Floresse (6-11 Aug. 1945): L'Église accroche-t-elle les grands secteurs de la vie contemporaine?, Louvain, Warny, 96 pp.: 1. Le prolétariat, abbé C. Boland, missionary at Seraing; 2. Les quartiers urbains, abbé G. Meunier, priest of SS. Jean et Nicholas, Brussels, published also in Evangéliser, I, Jan. 1947, pp. 412-422; 3. Le monde rural, abbé L. Bataille, priest of Offus; 4. Les intellectuels, abbé Havet, professor at the Grand Séminaire of Namur; 5. La famille, Canon Dermine, director of Catholic Action in the diocese of Tournai; 6. La vie publique, abbé G. Thils, professor at the Grand Séminaire, Malines.

⁵ One of the objectives for the 'Social Year, '1949, set by Mgr Charue, bishop of Namur, was to draw the attention of the clergy to the composition and evolution of parishes.

Cf. the resumé of these directives by R. Philippot, Milieux sociaux et pratique religieuse, in Revue diocésaine, Namur, t. V, July-Oct. 1950, pp. 191-204. Observe, measure, classify, compare, explain, foresee and improve: that is the substance of these recommendations.

⁶ Tables of Sunday and Paschal regularity, by deaneries, according to age and sex, in Lumen Vitae, III, 1948, p. 243, and Feuilles Documentaires de l'Action Cutholique des Hommes, Oct.-Nov. 1947, p. 4.

The first systematic survey of the kind in 1927 revealed the state of affairs in the industrial region of Charleroi. 7 Besides these known facts, a fair amount of material lies in the archives of various associations 8 or is in the possession of individual enquirers who are working upon it.

The sources of documentation of a *civil* nature are silent on the subject with which we are dealing. The Belgian government recognises the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religions, it does not trouble to make a census of their adherents. The Belgian national can be born, married, have children and die without the public authorities once asking him to which faith he belongs. ⁹ It is easier to arrive at an estimate of the numbers of clergy. Civil statistics take account of them amongst the professions, ¹⁰ and besides each diocese has for some time published its calendar with a list of names. There is one category of persons in which the public authorities are especially interested: religious. The liberal party in power in 1856, distrusted them and since that time there has been added to the population census a fairly detailed table of "religious as-

⁷ R. VAN HAUDENARD, Contribution à l'étude de la situation morale et religieuse du pays de Charleroi de 1900 à 1924. Dossiers de l'Action Catholique, August 1927, p. 22. The investigations were undertaken in the 73 communes of the arrondissement. Demographic data; figures of baptisms, marriages, burials. Results according to commune. No other data on religious practice. In particular for Marchienne-au-Pont, see Dossiers Act. Cath., Dec. 1923 (Jean BODART).

⁸ The Catholic Action for Men undertook in 1938 a general enquiry as to the religious position and charitable works in French-speaking Belgium. The brochure-questionnaire comprised thirty pages in quarto (184 questions). The results have not been published.

⁹ The first general census of the population in 1846 was the only one which contained a declaration as to adhesion to a religion or abstention from all. See the Introduction p. XXXVII and the main part of the census, II part, 2nd division. Details are by commune and by sex; comparison with 1829.

On the position of protestantism in Belgium there are indications in the following works: Nouvelle Revue Théologique, July 1928, Tableau des diverses sectes by A. Lemaire, S. J.; Revue Nouvelle, 15 Nov. 1946, p. 500, Sur la pensée religieuse des protestants belges, by P. Mahillon; Nouv. Rev. Théol., Jan. 1947, pp. 49-68, A la rencontre du protestantisme belge, by L. G. Dantinne, O. P.; Revue diocésaine de Tournai, Nov. 1950, pp. 519-525. An annual has been published, Les relations des fidèles avec les acatholiques. It has a map for the diocese of Tournai.

¹⁰ Under the title «Ministres du culte» which perhaps only includes priests exercising parochial or diocesan duties, paid by the State. The rubrics vary from one census to another. See in particular 1846, IV part, p. 437; 1856, III part, heading IV, section III, V Cultes, p. 224; 1866, IV part, p. 488. By province. See also the Annuaire statistique de la Belgique et du Congo Belge.

L'Annuaire administratif de la province de Luxembourg contains with the list of parochial clergy a return of the inhabitants of each parish, according to villages.

sociations. " ¹¹ Another and more complete source of information is the Annuaire catholique de Belgique. ¹²

The above is simply a matter of elementary statistics. There are also general surveys of catholicism in the country, of the signs of vitality, and on the symptoms of weakness which it displays, and also on the general state of morals. These studies are short and condensed, aiming either at summing up an age or at putting a particular event in its setting. ¹³ Occasionally a man will

¹¹ In 1846 the list of professions contained simply: «religious, men and women, » p. 437 et seq. In the 1856 census, see the introduction p. XXI and the table p. 231 et seq., the communities are classified in the following categories: hospitaliers, hospitalières, enseignants, enseignantes (having as their aim contemplation, the sacred ministry and teaching). Distinction by sex, details by congregation, with mention of places and number of members.

¹² Annuaire Catholique de Belgique — Katholiek Jaarboek voor België, 59th year in 1950, about 700 pp., Anvers, 68, Goedendagstraat. Clergy, religious communities, institutions for teaching and various other works.

¹⁸ Fr. Éd. DE MOREAU, S. J., known chiefly by his books on the origins of the Church in Belgium, is also interested in the contemporary period. Among his writings on this subject, see Le catholicisme en Belgique, Liège, Pensée Catholique, 1927, pp. 104; La vie religieuse. Les conclusions de l'historien, in Actes du VIe Congrès Catholique de Malines, 1936, t. II, L'expansion religieuse, pp. 11-16. A book of more general interest gives in its last chapters an outline for the partial data collected elsewhere: L'Église en Belgique des origines au début du XXe siècle, Brussels, Édit. Univ., 1945, 270 pp. — By the same author, La statistique ecclésiastique, in Nouv. Rev. Théol., Sept.-Oct. 1937, pp. 818-833. In this article he writes of the practical advantage of statistics for the use of the clergy. He realises that not all religious data should be available to the public. That is for the bishop to decide. For the historical development, see also the special number of the Nouv. Rev. Théol., t. 57, Sept.-Oct. 1930. Prêtres de Belgique (1830-1930). Particularly Fr. De Moreau's article, Dans le ministère pastoral, and Fr. A. Muller, S. J., Dans l'activité sociale, pp. 621-670.

The recruitment of clergy has been studied in various circumstances. See particularly Fr. Malmendier and J. Heuschen, La crise des vocations dans le diocèse de Liège, in Revue eccl. de Liège, 34e année, p. 353.

A short article by J. Leclerco in La Cité chrétienne, 20 Dec. 1933, pp. 220-227, called La vie religieuse en Belgique gives a general outline. — For the Flemish country: Verhandelingen van het VI° Katholiek Kongres van Mechelen, 1936; II. Godsdienstig leven en Katholieke Actie, De Feitelijke toestand. Prims (Canon), De Ontchristelijking politiek- en sociaal- historisch beschouwd, pp. 12-26 and Callewaert, O. P., De psychologische oorzaken. — De mentaliteit van ons volk op godsdienstig gebied, pp. 27-37; also, Geloofafval in Vlaanderen. — For a district of Wallonia, cf. G. Hovois, L'Ardenne et l'Ardennais, t. II, Arlon-Conseil Économique.

The moral deterioration consequent on the last war has given rise to a number of enquiries and commentaries. The work of the Ligues du Sacré-Cœur has been summed up in systematic notes in Campagne pour le redressement de la conscience. Réponse au questionnaire des Ligues du S. C., in Fiches documentaires, 15 April, 1948. Louvain, Warny, and Het herstel van het Geweten, 19 pp. in polycopy. — This has

try to sound public opinion on a particular point. ¹⁴ Standing in a category of their own are one or two really scholarly studies but strictly limited in scope. ¹⁵

3. The initiatives of Catholic Action: particular studies of a milieu.

It was in the workingclass world that the positive observation method was first employed. The root idea of Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne was bound up with it.

In order to understand the J. O. C., wrote Mgr Cardijn, one must see the problem of working youth in the world. At the base of the problem is a fundamental truth: every man and consequently each boy and girl worker is called by God to an eternal destiny which is their reason for existence. This divine vocation, common to all men, is not realised after death, in the hereafter. It is a matter of this present life, and gives to it its whole meaning; it is the source of all rights and all duties. It becomes incarnate in temporal, daily life; in every aspect of this life, even the most lowly. Eternal and temporal destiny are inseparable.

The great drama which gave birth to Jocism is the radical opposition in the lives of young workers throughout the world between their divine destiny and the ghastly reality of their everyday life... In order to save them they must first of all be brought to discover for themselves what they are, the value of their work, of their future, of love, of free time: they have to under-

14 The religious weekly *Dimanche* questioned its readers as to the motives for lapse in practice. They were asked to select the most usual from 16 suggested motives. There were 900 answers. *Dimanche*, 12 and 26 March, 2nd April, 1950.

The state of consciences is dealt with chiefly in many articles in the review Évangéliser: E. Bernimont, O. P. Le dimanche chrétien, II, May 1948, pp. 560-600; III, July 1948, pp. 47-67; L. Grandjean, O. P., L'incroyance des baptisés, III, July 1948, pp. 18-31; B. Hansoul, O. P., La tiédeur des pratiquants, III, Sept. 1948, pp. 132-148.

¹⁶ Claire Leplae, *Pratique religieuse et milieux*: a scientific enquiry into the practice of young people intending to marry, in a dense parish of Brussels; period 1939-1947, in *Bull. Inst. Rech. Écon. Soc. Univ. Louvain*, April 1949, pp. 709-806.

See also J. M. Debilde, parochial secretary of Ste. Suzanne, Schaerbeek, La situation religieuse du Grand Bruxelles, in Cité chrétienne, 5 Sept. 1936, pp. 628-629. An enquiry into the religious position of families newly arrived in the parish.

also inspired a lengthy commentary by Fr. L. De Coninck, S. J., La formation et le redressement de la conscience, in Nouv. Rev. Théol., t. 70, no. 7, July-Aug. 1948, pp. 673-689. The observations of the Action Catholique des Hommes were collected in the brochure Crise des consciences et redressement, Brussels, 1947, Secrétariat of the A. C. H., 56 pp. Feuilles documentaires de l'A. C. H., Oct.-Nov. 1947. This contains a general survey and statistics, chiefly those for school attendance. Part of the report has appeared in Lumen Vitae, III, 1948, pp. 221-246: G. Hoyois, La situation morale et religieuse en Belgique d'expression française.

stand the beauty of their calling in their very surroundings, personal, family and social. J. O. C. has worked out a new pedagogy which, instead of starting with doctrine, theory and books, starts from life, reality and its problems. ¹⁸

The first move of this vast organic activity was an attempt at exploration of the working class world. One cannot without emotion turn over the pages of the Enquête sur l'adolescence salariée, on which the abbé Cardijn had long reflected during the war of 1914-18 ¹⁷ and which was finally put into effect in 1923-24. The publication of the results in the first meetings of the jocist movement caused a profound impression in Belgium. Many priests and charitable organisers then realised the deep moral wretchedness of tens of thousands of boys and girls left on their own in factories and often, alas, even in their own homes. This psychological shock made clear the necessity for some work of salvation particularly adapted to their needs. The enquiry was the first means of propaganda for J.O.C. and it set the organisation on its feet.

Since then J. O. C. has never ceased to observe the world in which the young workers move. The essence of its pedagogy is "See, judge, act." By means of questionnaires the jocist is taught to examine everything, spiritual or temporal, and then to react personally with regard to them. Each year one or more enquiries are made, and the data obtained provide the field for a plan of action. The material is published in the organs of the movement and is made part of daily life. Unfortunately, no one has ever yet collected the material and worked it up into a comprehensive study of the development of the young salaried worker since the beginning of this century. ¹⁸

The workers' environment as a whole has been studied more

¹⁶ L'Église face au problème de la jeunesse travailleuse, Brussels, Secrétariat International de la J. O. C., 1949, pp. 26, 36, 39.

¹⁷ The Enquête sur l'adolescence salariée, organisée par la Jeunesse Sociale Catholique took as its subject young people from 14 to 21. It was divided up according to the type of recipient or institution into 30 special enquiries, with 512 principal questions, many of these being subdivided into subsidiary questions.

¹⁸ The annual enquiries of J. O. C. are about the various aspects of the lives of the young workers. The following are those which have the greatest bearing on the moral and religious position: Life at work (1928), the milieux of work (1930) and the moral life (1935), conditions of work (1943), the kind of life (1942); religious knowledge (1930), eucharistic practice (1934), Sundays (1938); intellectual training (1930), education and training (1932); family obligations (1930), the position of the family (1941), the attitude of the young workers towards girl workers (1943); the security, health, dignity (1929), personal and family health (1937); removals

from the point of view of the material conditions of life and work than from the moral aspect. Various authors have described in broad outline the moral and religious position of the working classes and suggested the causes of the state of affairs. One will find examples in the Semaines Sociales, both Flemish and Walloon, which the Mouvement Ouvrier Chrétien organises regularly. 19 Recently there was a joint effort limited to the industrial district of Liège. 20 In other cases theory looks for facts to inspire pastoral work. 21 As for systematic researches properly so-called, there are but few in this sphere.

The most outstanding popular enquiry is that which the Ligues

and moral life (1935); conditions of the sick (1946). See particularly the collection in the review Jeunesse Ouvrière.

Special notices have been collected concerning different circumstances. For instance, Jeunes ouvrières en détresse, in Rev. Nouv., t. V, 15 Jan. 1947, pp. 50-57; the conditions of the family, professional, religious life of 700 girls from 14 to 25 who passed through a J. O. C. camp in Belgium between the end of 1943 and the end of 1946. Continued in A. HAYEN, S. J., La grâce au travail dans les jeunes travailleuses, in Rev. Nouv., t. V, 15 March 1947, pp. 351-359.

Also on the subject of girls: De toestand van de jonge arbeidsters in het vlaamsche land, in Gids op maatschappelijk gebied, Nov. 1947, pp. 934-948 and Dec. 1947, pp. 1057-1067. Enquiry of the V. K. A. J. (Flemish J. O. C.) on the housing and working conditions for girls of 14 to 25. A critical analysis.

XI Vlaamsche Sociale Week, 1924. General subject: the dechristianisation of the working class in Belgium, and its causes. See the lectures of Fr. DE BRUYNE and Canon F. Prims, pp. 33-74.

¹⁹ This Social Week was preceded by an enquiry. Some points of fact were brought to light during the lectures and discussions.

In the works of the XXIV Week (1937), Volksverheffing en arbeidersbeweging, ci. especially the lecture by A. De Taeye, Volkszedelijkheid.

See especially the lectures during the National Study Week of the Catholic Workers Leagues (Flemish), Melle, 13-16 April 1950, published under the title Ontherstering en herherstering van de arbeiders, Antwerp, 't Groeit, 1950, 268 pp., particularly those of A. De Smet, La situation morale et religieuse de la classe ouvrière flamande, pp. 9-74 and of Canon A. Brys, Les causes de la dépression religieuse et morale des ouvriers, pp. 75-128.

Also for Flanders, Canon D. De Swaef, De godsdienstige en zedelijke toestand van onze vlaamsch arbeidersstand, in Gids, Sept. 1950, pp. 799-837. — A careful analysis of the elements of the question is to be found in Comptes rendus des Semaines Sociales Wallones.

²⁰ Centres d'études sociales Godefroid Kurth, La déchristianisation des masses prolétariennes, Tournai, Casterman, 1948.

²¹ Jean Dermine, L'Église et le monde ouvrier, in Revue dioc. de Tournai, May 1947, pp. 193-203; July 1947, pp. 289-298; Jan. 1948, pp. 24-32 and March 1948, pp. 97-116. Also to be noted: Contacts entre prêtres et foyers populaires, by a team of Louvain priests, Louvain, Nauwelaerts, 1948, 144 pp.

Ouvrières Féminines Chrétiennes of the Flemish region carried out in 1939 on family life. This widespread enquiry upon certain simple yet general facts resulted in 14,992 useful answers in two months. The Rev. Fr. De Volder has analysed and commented upon them. ²²

In addition to all this, the truthful observance of facts and their frank publication has been widely encouraged. Methods used have been made known more than the success achieved. The study sessions of $L'\acute{E}$ glise en marche, held at Charleroi in 1947 and 1949 were full of the need to correlate action with the facts whatever these might be. They have provided a platform for French priests of the Mission de Paris and those working in Marseilles. ²³

Then there are the customs and habits of the people. An investigator pays visits to some district, picking up what he can or else spends some years there in social work. He reports what he has seen and heard: unexpected attitudes, revelatory actions, amazing statements, expressions that reveal a character. The danger here is to colour the facts to make them more sensational. Several books seem to us to have avoided this pitfall, notably those of Jean de Vincennes who began with some investigations in the Parisian suburbs. The famous Marolles area, huddled at the foot of the Brussels Palais de justice has attracted a great deal of attention; several reveal themselves as great lovers of the poor in body and soul. ²⁴

²² N. DE VOLDER, Volk en Gezinsleven — Een enquête door de christelijke arbeidersvrouwengilden, K. A. V., 1942, 207 pp. 135,000 questionnaires were distributed, only in Flanders. Six questions like this: « Do you need a home? Why?... What do you think you could do yourself to make your family happier? » A quantitative and qualitative analysis (summarised for publication); quotation and commentary on typical and instructive answers. See a review in Sacerdos, Jan. 1941, pp. 129-141 and in Kultuurleven, May 1940, pp. 228-236.

²³ La christianisation du prolétariat, Brussels, Éd. Témoignage chrétien, 1947, 271 pp. Communautés humaines, communautés chrétiennes, Brussels, Éd. Tém. chrét., 189 pp. See in these works the reports of enquiries: Hubert Dewez, Le monde ouvrier et l'Église, t. I, pp. 13-28, and Jean Bouhy, Deux ans d'action dans un quartier populaire, t. II, pp. 95-123. Programmes of enquiries are discussed by J. Gérard-Libois, Communautés humaines, communautés chrétiennes, t. I, pp. 229-265 and Réflexions à propos de quelques monographies de quartiers, t. II, pp. 59-75.

²⁴ Jean de Vincennes, De la rue des Vers au Paradis, Brussels, Éd. Cité chr., 1936, 80 pp. — J. de Vincennes and Claude Olivier, La mèche qui fume encore, Éd. de Maredsous, 1949, 232 pp. — Baron Emmanuel van der Elst is particularly interested in the moral and religious aspects of popular life. The same quarter is systematically described by A. Geeraerts, H. S. C., social worker: Vingt années de travail

Finally, there are some special studies of particular categories of workers. 25

Intellectual circles. — Let us consider the intellectuals and the bourgeoisie. There are a good number of investigations to be met with about these. The educated public is usually quite willing to answer a questionnaire and to be asked about themselves. This readiness is the more marked among students at colleges and boardingschools. Here some good work has been done. Special attention has been paid to religious attitudes. The faith in an adolescent in a college has recently been the matter of an excellent study by Fr. Delooz and of a work by the J. E. C. ²⁶ Others have approached university students and other educated youths. ²⁷ The enquiries of Fr. De Volder on the religion of intellectuals has been carried out on scientific lines. ²⁸

social dans les Marolles. Souvenirs et expériences, Préface by Count Carton de Wiart, Minister of State, Louvain, Soc. d'études morales et jurid., Brussels, Éd. Universelle, 1948, 326 pp. This work gives a collection of typical scenes.

²⁵ By way of example, we quote Lucien Luypaert, Spiritualité du travail : défauts et qualités du mineur, in Rev. Dioc. Tournai, May 1947, pp. 234-240. — Ch. LAGASSE, Niveaux et manifestations de culture chez les ouvriers de la grande industrie, in Bull. Rech. Écon. Soc. Univ. Louv., XIII (1948), pp. 833-907.

On the subject of women's work, Entre l'usine et le foyer, enquête sur le travail salarié des femmes mariées en 1932, by Catholic employers. On morality in factories: G. MEUNIER, La situation morale et matérielle de la jeunesse ouvrière belge, in Bull.

Soc. des industriels, no. 82, Feb. 1937, p. 46.

²⁶ Pierre Delooz, S. J., Une enquête sur la foi des collégiens, in Nouv. Rev. Théol., t. 71 (1949), pp. 1045-1062; enquiry in 26 colleges (16 diocesan, 7 Jesuit, and 3 of other religious orders) in French-speaking Belgium amongst pupils of the three higher classes in the humanities. The answers were unsigned and not seen by the masters. A thousand answers. — By the same author: La foi des élèves de l'enseignement d'État en Belgique, in Nouv. Rev. Théol., t. 73 (1951), pp. 21-42. A thousand pupils, attending the Catholic religious course in the government athènees, about 80 % of the whole number of pupils, were interrogated in the same way. Analysis in percentages.

La foi des jeunes. La foi des étudiants et leur formation religieuse, Louvain, Éd. de l'Amitié Étudiante, 1949, 126 pp. See in this collection, published by J. E. C. La foi chez les jeunes étudiants, by the Abbé Roger Aubert, professor at the Seminary of St. Joseph, Malines, pp. 47-80.

We recall a discussion on the moral deficiencies of educated youth (French-speaking) led by the Abbé Jean Jadot, Regard sur notre jeunesse in Regards, études

et travaux, Brussels, Éd. Cité chrét., 1942, pp. 47-91.

²⁷ Lucien De Groote, Un sondage sur la culture des étudiants, in Bull. Inst. Rech. Écon. Soc. Univ. Louv., April 1949, p. 807. An enquiry made among the French-speaking students of the University of Louvain. Some questions on religious knowledge (pp. 818-820).

²⁸ N. DE VOLDER, O. F. M., De godsdienstigheid der intellectuelen, Bruges, Beyaert, 1947, 208 pp. Enquiry made at the end of 1943 among Catholics, chiefly practising,

These observations and other personal experiences have inspired various short but substantial syntheses, such as that of Canon J. Leclercq: Le problème de la foi dans les milieux intellectuels du XX^e siècle. ²⁹

Again, the Jeunesse Indépendante Catholique Féminine have been making an enquiry among girls of the bourgeois class on various aspects of their individual and social lives. 30 The results have been collected in the Revue Nouvelle. 31 The countryside has been less explored than the world of the workers and the middle classes. Rural folk have been thought faithful to tradition and constant in their habits, whereas, under a seemingly changeless exterior, minds and manners have been greatly modified, there as elsewhere. This illusion explains why people in the villages have scarcely attracted the attention of observers. Today the gap has become too marked to be left unbridged. The movements of Catholic Action which interest themselves in the rural districts are trying to examine the rural mind. Problems peculiar to the agriculturist have been studied, and now the village as a community is being studied. So far, however, nothing has appeared in print. 32

over the whole of Belgium. 12 questions, 8,000 papers distributed, 785 useful answers. Quantitative analysis and quotation of typical answers. Critical commentary.

By the same author, Enquête sur la religion des intellectuels, in Bull. Inst. Rech. Écon. Soc. Univ. Louv., XII (1946), pp. 649-671.

²⁹ Canon J. Leclercy, Le problème de la foi dans les milieux intellectuels du XX^e siècle, Casterman, 1949, 84 pp. This analysis is inspired by the crisis of the Faith in the universities. The author describes the attitudes of mind which he has observed.

³⁰ Enquête s'adressant aux jeunes filles des classes moyennes, de la bourgeoisie et de l'aristocratie, 1948, J. I. C. F., 19, rue du Marteau, Brussels. 86 questions, 1,500 answers. Unpublished.

³¹ Enquête sur les milieux indépendants. Marcel LALOIRE, Au sein des communautés humaines; Jean Delfosse, En face du Christ et de son Église, in Revue Nouvelle, IX (1949), pp. 587-613.

On the same, see M. Kuppens, Le problème social des classes moyennes, in Revue Eccl. de Liège, XXIII, pp. 843 et seq.

³² The Centre for Rural Studies coordinates these researches (80, rue des Deux-Églises, Brussels). It has stressed the need for an attentive sociological examination (the rural study days at Namur, organised on the anniversary of the foundation of the rural youth movement, August 1949). The actual programme of the C. E. R. dwells particularly on the demographic and social evolution of the countryside.

Amongst the enquiries of Jeunesse rurale, note that on the observance of Sunday in the Walloon villages (1939). Comprehensive figures in Entretiens sacerdotaux de Floreffe, 1945, p. 48. Note R. D., Onthersteningsfactoren bij de boeren, in De Weg, Nov. 1950, pp. 74-81.

Another enquiry of J. A. C. F. about work (1949), contains a question on prayer. 1,688 answers.

4. Renewal of the pastorate.

Whilst Catholic Action was seeking its way along, a refreshing breeze, as we have said, began to blow upon the pastoral clergy. Some of the traditional methods were clearly inadequate; the clergy felt themselves to be overwhelmed; since so many of the baptised no longer bothered to come to church, the parish priest was forced to go in search of the numerous lost sheep. This reversal of roles meant a change of ideas. A careful study of means was called for. Priests saw how complex is the parish which we style a community of the faithful. They tried to sort out the different categories ranging from the devout to those who know only the outside of the church building. In short, a movement has arisen to think out a new method of pastoral work, both in the intensive use of age-old methods and the thorough overhaul of ways and means.

In the literature that has appeared, some facts are noted and these are used to suggest a programme of action. ³³ Few deal with manners. Some parishes, however, have been the subject of a full study. ³⁴ Certain parochial plans consider more especially the variety of social groups. ³⁵

Finally, mission giving has been re-considered. Some books have

³³ The works of the Abbé A. RYCKMANS, parish priest of Sainte-Suzanne at Schaerbeek-Brussels, former professor at the Faculty of Philosophy of St. Louis, are the most complete of their kind. The author has investigated very thoroughly the social and moral conditions in his territory. A well organised parochial secretariat is the instrument of this action. A scientific study has been made from this abundant documentation. The writings of M. RYCKMANS, stress above all the need for pastoral work based on the personal appreciation of all that is real. See Le secrétariat paroissial, Esquisse de l'organisation de l'apostolat dans une grande paroisse, Brussels, Éd. A. C. H., 80, rue des Deux-Églises, Brussels, 2nd edit., 1946, 172 pp.; La paroisse vivante, Tournai-Paris, Casterman, 1950, 366 pp.; and also Jean Mas-SION, parish priest of Sainte-Alix, Woluwe-Brussels, Réflexions sur le secrétariat paroissial, in Revue Nouv., t. IX, 15 Feb. 1949, pp. 174-191; Alb. STÉVAUX, Les étudiants et la paroisse, in Revue dioc. Tournai, t. IV (1949), pp. 110-120 and pp. 214-219; Marcel Vandercammen, Le prêtre et les jeunes travailleurs, in Revue dioc. Tournai, t. III (1948), pp. 327-334; Contacts entre prêtres et foyers populaires, by several priests, Louvain, Nauwelaerts, 1948, 144 pp. See the collection of the review Sacerdos, Tijdschrift voor predicatie en zielzorg, since 1944.

³⁴ The book, already mentioned, of Mlle Cl. Leplae, Pratique religieuse et mi-

³⁵ Les Actes du VIº Congrès Catholique de Malines, 1936, t. II, L'expansion religieuse, contains articles on the parochial ministry in the large towns (Abbé Jans, parish priest of Sainte-Gertrude at Bussels), in the country (Canon Theissen, dean of Bouillon), in the workingclass centres (Abbé Dubuguoy, dean of Fleurus), pp. 32-65.

appeared on this subject. They deal chiefly with method, but they also give facts insofar as mention is made of successful results. 36

5. Various departments of education.

The *family* has inspired an ample literature, more constructive than descriptive. Various works by Canon Leclercq and others have traced the outline of the transformations which have taken place. ³⁷ Certain periodicals, specialising in the family are constantly reporting events and basing instructive commentaries upon them. ³⁸ A great deal is picked up almost casually; there is less systematic exploration. Deep studies are rare. The only one we can think of is Mlle. Cl. Leplae's work on betrothals. ³⁹ The religious life of married people has been the subject of an interesting inquiry, ⁴⁰ and also the relations between religious practice and cer-

³⁶ See specially Vicarius bruxellensis, Une expérience de mission paroissiale, May 1947, in Nouv. Rev. Théol., t. 69 (1947), pp. 852-859; J. Gravis (Canon), La mission de Charleroi, in Évangéliser, II, 1948, pp. 457-464; Th. Genin, O. P., La mission d'Anderlues, in Évangéliser, III, July 1948, pp. 90-97; L. Arts, S. J., L'année missionnaire 1949 en pays flamand, in Nouv. Rev. Théol., t. 72 (1950), pp. 302-304.

³⁷ J. LECLERCQ, Évolution de la famille, in Famille, IV, Jan. 1949, pp. 1-29, and the volume by the same author dealing with the family in the series of lessons on natural law.

³⁸ Famille, review of matters concerning the family, 89, rue Belliard, Brussels. Founded in 1946.

Feuilles familiales, review for wedded life, 41, av. J. Goffin, Berchem-Brussels, since 1939. See also the Women's Page in the daily La libre Belgique.

³⁹ Cl. Leplae, attached to the Inst. des Rech. Économ. et Sociales of Louvain University, Les fiançailles, Paris, Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine, Presses Universitaires de France, 1947, 344 pp. Enquiry by rational samples in 'the best educated circles' in the whole of Belgium; 115 interviews.

Also note the Enquête sur les conditions de vie des familles nombreuses en Belgique carried out in 1930 by the Belgian Association for the scientific study of population problems. 63 questions, on material, educational, social, recreative, religious matters, etc.

Numerous enquiries with an immediate educative aim have been undertaken by the Leagues of female Christian workers. Amongst others: Ons gezinsleven, 1948,

One enquiry was as to the subjects of conversation between the wife and her husband, the mother with her children. Service et témoignage, Bulletin des sectionnaires, L. O. F. C., May and June 1950. 1,171 answers. Tabulated results.

⁴⁰ October 1948. 19 questions put separately to husband and wife; 450 answers, from 250 homes. Cf. Feuilles familiales, Dec. 1948 to July 1949.

On the same subject see the discussion of the Mannenverbond of the Bruges diocese, on the ideas behind conjugal and family life, in *De Weg*, 15 Jan. 1947, p. 142 et seq. and 15 Feb. 1947, pp. 150-163 (A. KINDT).

tain family characteristics. ⁴¹ Perhaps education in this sphere has chiefly inspired the writers. A multitude of various details have been collected, ⁴² but it is very rare to find anyone gathering them together to give the psychology of a particular age. ⁴³ Some specialists have described infancy, adolescence, youth; ⁴⁴ others have interrogated the fathers of families on their methods. ⁴⁵

One or two particular studies throw light on some particular

point. 46

One section which has been dealt with thoroughly is that of child delinquency, thanks chiefly to the work of M. M. Rouvroy. 47

41 Sociological Week organised in 1949 by the School of Political and Social Sciences at the University of Louvain. General subject: The family. Abbé E. Collard's lecture was preceded by an enquiry.

⁴² See in particular the collection of L'Éducation familiale, 10, Bvd Charlemagne, Brussels (51st year, 1951) and that of the Famille et Collège, 24, Bvd Saint-Michel,

Brussels.

43 The works of Dr. Et. De Greeff, professor at Louvain University, have dealt

with the presentday child: Nos enfants et nous - L'Enfant et le milieu.

44 Canon J. VIEUJEAN or Jean le Presbytre: Toi qui deviens homme. — Cf. P. DOUCET, S. J., Adolescence 1949, in Famille et Collège, May and June 1949. On the influence of religious teaching, ibid., May 1949, p. 150. See also the series of conferences given at the Monastery of Berlaymont at Brussels: Enfance, Liège, Pensée Catholique, 1934, 210 pp. Adolescence, Brussels, Éd. Univers., 1935, 276 pp.; Jeunesse, Paris, Desclée, 1936, 238 pp.

45 G. Hoyois, Père d'aujourd'hui. Feuilles document. de l'A. C. H., Feb. 1949, 60 pp. The elements of a discussion in the Men's Catholic Action. See a survey by I.N.S.O.C. on the current conception of education, III year, no. 3, May-June 1948.

⁴⁶ Walter SMET, S. J., A propos de l'initiation des enfants, in Nouv. Rev. Théol., t. 68 (1946), pp. 44-60. 131 educated youths from 20-25; results tabulated and in graphs. Paul Ernst, S. J., Option vitale. Contribution à une psychologie ascétique de la vocation, in Nouv. Revue Théol., t. 69 (1947), pp. 731-742 and pp. 1065-1084.

⁴⁷ M. Maurice Rouvroy was for a long time head of the central establishment of observation belonging to the State at Moll. He has written a fine methodological study: L'observation pédagogique des enfants de justice, Brussels, Office de Publicité,

1921, 280 pp.

On public morality in general, the following is useful: Bulletin de la Ligue nationale de la moralité publique (97, rue Alphonse Renard, Brussels) and Zedenadel (16, Congresstraat, Borgerhout-Antwerpen). Among other things in the Bulletin are: on the birthrate, 1948, I (A. Huart); on divorce, 1949, 3 (J. Biermé); on the protection of infancy, 1948, I (R. Grégoire); on children's publications, 1949, 2; on alcoholism, 1946, 2; on the cinema, 1949, 4 and 1950, 3 (M. Rouvroy); on dance halls, 1948, I (J. Verhaegen); on debauchery and women police, 1950, 4 (P. Bibot).

On the same theme, see Hubert Hanquet, La déchéance de la puissance paternelle, in Bull. Inst. Rech. Écon. Soc. Univ. Louvain, XV, no. 5, Dec. 1949, pp. 39-77. The characteristics of the homes where the parents have lost jurisdiction. Parquet de Liège, and also Dechamps, Les mineurs délinquants, in Bulletin des écoles primaires, April-May 1946.

The schools, the attitudes and reactions of schoolchildren, have naturally received the attention of professional teachers. Here also the material is scattered in periodicals. ⁴⁸ Some enquiries have been made concerning the religious position in schools. ⁴⁹

6. Influences upon public opinion.

The factors which go to form public opinion have given scope to Catholic organisations for educative and remedial work. However, the factual data on which their work is based have not been published. The archives of the various centres would tell us much if they could be ransacked.

Regarding the *press*, I. N. S. O. C. started an enquiry on the reading of papers by the general public, ⁵⁰ and there has lately been an enquiry made by the Catholic Action for Men among Catholic journalists, editors and readers. ⁵¹ As to the *cinema*, several books have been written on film production and its effect on minds. ⁵² All films which appear on our screens have been examined carefully by the competent committee of the Catholic cinema organisation. Each year helpful tables are published concerning the moral worth of reels reaching Belgium according to their country of origin. ⁵³ But the actual reactions of the public do not seem to have been examined. The way has been opened for such an enquiry by a remarkable one made among adolescents. ⁵⁴

⁴⁸ See the Revue belge de pédagogie or Nouvelle Revue Pédagogique. In the Bulletin des écoles primaires, Tournai, Casterman, articles by Canon Dechamps, prof. of Louvain University: L'enfant actuel, May-June-September 1948: L'instituteur des temps actuels, Oct. 1947-April 1948. Among the Documents of the Central Council for Primary Catholic Education, rue Ch. Morren, Liège, especially nos 32, 33, 34, 36.

⁴⁹ Canisius bode, I Nov. and I5 Dec. 1947 (attendance at mass in West Flanders); 25 March and 10 Oct. 1950 (frequent communion). See also Nouvelle Revue Pédagogique (Casterman), I July 1950: École et vie chrétienne, by Br. Mansuet.

⁵⁰ University institution for social and economic information, Belgian centre for the study of public opinion, directed by G. JACQUEMYNS, Prof. Univ. Brussels, Parc Léopold, Brussels, 2nd year, no. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1947.

⁵¹ La presse et la conscience chrétienne, in Feuilles Documentaires de l'A. C. H., Dec. 1950, 38 pp. A more complete dossier exists in the secretariat of the A. C. H., 80, rue des Deux-Églises, Brussels.

⁵² Les catholiques parlent du cinéma, Report of the IV Congress of the Office Catholique International du Cinéma (10, rue de l'Orme, Brussels), Éd. Universitaires, 384 pp. — Franz Sury, Le cinéma, pilote du monde moderne.

Documentation of the D. O. C. I. P., 10, rue de l'Orme, Brussels.

⁵⁴ Enquiry by the C. E. D. O. C. (Cinéma éducatif, documentaire et culturel, rue de l'Orme, Brussels), carried out by the Abbé J. Roger in May-June 1950 amongst the pupils from 14 to 21 of 30 establishments of Catholic middle education in the

Finally, the *radio* appears more inaccessible than any other organisation. The world of listeners has not up till now been touched and one can hardly guess what choice is made amongst the numerous programmes. ⁵⁵ A few soundings have been made by religious authors. ⁵⁶

Conclusion.

Any man who tries a hundred years hence to retrace the moral and religious history of Belgium during the first half of the XX century will not have an easy task. What material documentation will he have? A few general surveys, too general to go to the heart of the matter, a good many descriptive notes, mostly very limited in subject, and one or two careful studies, but very fragmentary in character. We do not think that the historian of 2050 will find it any easier to disentangle the inner workings of human evolution than did Taine, de la Gorce or Madelin when they tried to resurrect the France of the Revolution or of the XIX century.

As instruments for action, the numerous enquiries set on foot by educative societies lack, for the most part, that complexity which is necessary to sort out all the important elements in a situation which, being psychological and moral, is full of fine and subtle shades. This incompleteness is explicable and justifiable. These examinations have been made to get some big plan of action so as to impress men and stir them to immediate action. They had to be simple because they were on a public unaccustomed to being subjected to such diagnosis and were carried out by men who themselves were untrained. Speed is necessary, for only a few months can be allowed before the data must be incorporated into a plan for a year's work which cannot be delayed. These labours, in fact, are all of an educative nature. The main thing is to teach the members of the movements to open their eyes and perceive facts easily perceptible and to appreciate their importance. All this is good.

whole of Belgium. 3,028 anonymous answers classified by age, class, sex and language. 10 questions were on the assiduity and quality of cinema going. Results in the *Nouv. Rev. Péd.*, Feb. 1951. — See also a survey by I.N.S.O.C., 2nd year, no. 6, July-Aug. 1947.

⁵⁵ See an enquiry by I.N.S.O.C., 2nd year, no. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1947, and another by Ligue des femmes ouvrières chrétiennes, in Service et témoignage, July 1950.

⁵⁶ Notably, for broadcasts in French by Frs. Draime, Loslever, Grandjean, O. P., by the Abbé Josse Alzin; in Flemish by the Rev. Léopold, O. C. D. The latter in 1938 organised an enquiry among listeners to the regional station of Courtrai. 2,659 answers.

Nevertheless, it is a pity that the immense work which has thus been accomplished in thirty or so years has not gone deeper, that it has so little been applied to the interconnection between morals, psychology, economics and politics, or to the sounding of the inexhaustible riches of "social life" in the full sense of the term. Why is it that the same instruments for action in the hands of the same organisation and sometimes of the same men. between 1920 and 1940 on the one hand and after 1945 on the other. have not resulted in comparable results? Has it been explained? Have enquiries been made into what makes up a moral circumstance, what goes to form a social atmosphere, those things which vary in different epochs, those impalpable nuances of common life which differ from one town to another, from one village to another? It must be recognised that only too often observation has been content to remain on the threshold without attempting to enter.

This is why the causes of known facts have not been sufficiently understood. When one reads this documentations, one gets the impression that the factors determining the evolution of manners are also relatively simple. One new one, such as the cinema for instance, would explain the behaviour of a generation of youth. An economic crisis would give the key to social change of outlook. Lack of material goods is the reason for the decline in the birthrate. Now, if one looks more closely, one finds that such explanations are untenable in certain cases, because they are unilateral. The enquiries of those movements concerned with action run the risk sometimes of forgetting what a variety of motives inspire human behaviour. Teachers are too apt to stress the moral factor and to view the situation of the day with an excessive pessimism. On the contrary, social propagandists may be prone to exaggerate the part played by economics, without observing all the other influences which combine to form a mentality. The desire for action, the feeling of responsibility, might narrow the field of observation and distort the conclusions of the would-be realists. A social fact is always more full of meaning than appears at first glance.

If we turn to those works which have been *scientifically written*, we must admit they are very few in number. The rigorous nature of the task forces the student to a very limited object: the inhabitants of one area of a town, those about to marry in a particular parish, the students of a university.

The interest of these studies consists chiefly in the standards

they set for methods of observation. By multiplying contacts and pursuing the analysis down to the least detail, they reveal links of which the ordinary enquirers never dream. They also draw attention to the importance of means of information which are often neglected, such as the careful entries in the parish register. These detailed portraits reveal traits hitherto unperceived in a community, a workshop, a local professional class. Their monographic worth is considerable; it is, so to speak, the radiography of a subject that has only been examined superficially up to now. But there is a risk in generalising the results. They are but particular cases; there is no reason to suppose that the nextdoor group is the same. If a section of the parishioners of St. A. whose parents used to live in the country, think thus of their clergy, there may be quite different notions amongst an identical group in the same quarter but in the parish of St. B. It would be to distort the authors' intentions to take them beyond their limits. When a complete enquiry is made amongst a limited section, the actual number of persons interrogated is often so few that the question is to know just how far they can be at all typical. Moreover quantitative analysis, in percentage tables, does not always represent the qualitative or psychological analysis of the subject. The concornitance of facts is often most misleading in the matter of morality. Numbers are easily added up; columns of figures can easily be compared. But what do they mean? That is quite another matter. The same results in two parallel cases may come from utterly different causes. Men, not figures, must be consulted. Oral interrogation, delicate and difficult though it is, is indispensable. 57

The enquiry on popular manners or customs is far removed from figures; it is often picturesque, suggestive and artistically composed. We may be thrilled with astonishing facts, albums of dramatic snap-shots. But to what extent are they exceptional or representative? If we have never come across a thing before, are we to say it is something going out or something new or a unique example? This literature, for it is such and often very good literature, does not pile up the same cases, but varies them considerably. The sociologist must realise that such studies are very incomplete.

Take the two cases together: counting of heads and quest for confidences; that is the only way to give an enquiry its full value. 58

⁸⁷ Read on this subject A. RYCKMANS, La paroisse vivante, p. 282.

⁵⁸ In this respect there are numerous enquiries by Fr. De Volder and one by Mlle Leplae on betrothals.

We hope that the observation of moral and religious facts will be undertaken seriously in the near future. The conditions are favourable. Under the pressure of necessity there is a spirit abroad of "See, judge, act." Just as pedagogy in the schools is trying today to make children see nature, pastoral and Catholic Action methods are making men seek the influences to which they are submitting and which they exercise. But are the terms of the trilogy taken in their due proportion? Actually, the looking is superficial, the judgment hasty because of the urgent promptings to action. Is this well for the action? One is led to think that a more lingering gaze would throw light on more careful judgments and both would in the latter end result in more efficacious action.

Practically, how could this stage be defined? By work at once more searching and more extensive. The work of scientific observers is lacking in extension because they are so isolated and in general have few means at their disposal. When there exist, not simply one or two, but twenty or fifty monographs on parishes of the same kind, the traits which they have in common will be known

and then they can be interpreted by inference.

The works inspired by the needs of the apostolate of education lack, in our estimation, depth. If action is to be rightly directed it must be by means of better information. The only possibility of that is by means of study centres in which persons familiar with statistical methods and with research can collaborate, who will also be sufficiently free from preoccupation with immediate action. The Christian economic social organisations in Belgium have acquired, thanks to their study centres, a remarkable name for efficiency. ⁵⁹ Their example might well be followed. We would not express this wish were we not informed that in various places progress has been made in this direction.

Study centres properly qualified would help observers to go beyond the facts of the preliminary zone in favour of those less easy to come by. They would pass from the realm of effects into that of causes. This prolonged research would look also at the past, and thus it would become easier to put things in their right perspective. Certain attitudes and habits of thought only seem new because we do not know our history. Often, too, what seem age old is actually comparatively recent, and an apparent innovation

may be very ancient.

See C. S. C., the monthly bulletin of the Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens, Bulletin social des industriels catholiques (the social Bulletin of the Catholic industrialists), etc.

At the very least, it is to be hoped that enquirers will meet together and consult as to their schemes. If the work up to date gives any particular impression, it is that of its disjointedness. Subjects for study, methods employed, presentation of results, all differ. A meeting place for these persons all animated with the same desire would have the desired effect of coordinating their efforts. ⁶⁰

And thus realism in research into morality would create both knowledge and action.

⁶⁰ Many headquarters of apostolic action and studies take a lively interest in observation and documentation. Especially we may mention the Dominican College of La Sarte (Huy), which publishes the review Évangéliser. Cf. in this publication among others, J. Gérard-Libois, Ma Paroisse, cette inconnue! July 1948; G. Dantinne, La monographie paroissiale et la mission, Sept. 1949; P. Bourgy, Apostolat à l'aveuglette, Sept. 1950.

For Flanders, an analogous work has been started by the Studiecentrum voor Zielzorg en Predicatie, Halewijnlaan, 92, at West-Antwerp, and by Geloofsverdediging, the organ of which is Katholiek Archief, weekly published in collaboration with the national secretariat of Catholic Action in the Netherlands.

There are interesting monographs in the collection of memoirs presented at the end of their studies by the pupils of certain school of social service. One will find fruit in studying those of the women's college at Brussels, rue de la Poste, III (Flemish and French sections).

Religious Sociology in Italy

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Priests and the apostolate. — Forty years ago Fr. De Rossi was appointed to the Saint-Saba district in Rome, and was received with brick-bats — the Romans of those days had in mind the making of a godless city. The zealous and enterprising apostle carefully studied the milieu, and gradually worked out a religious census. He discovered that the families were generally young and healthy; that the majority were clerks or skilled artisans, that out of 287 families 86 practised their religion, 138 were indifferent, 59 (20,9%) frankly hostile, and 4 were Protestants or Jews. He thus realised that the antireligious reputation of his "parish" had been due to a minority of 1/5 th or even less (17% of the individuals) and that there was sufficient material to lay the basis of a Christian community. 3

In 1935 Father Corti, a secular priest in the Milan diocese and later a Jesuit, disturbed by the apostasy among men, published anonymously a booklet " *Ut vitam habeant*." ⁴ He asked how

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³ G. DE Rossi, Cio che possono dire i dati statistici di una parrochia, in Vita e Pensiero (Milan), I (1914-15), p. 289-300.

It may be remembered that a book by the Austrian Canon H. Swoboda, Gross-stadtseelsorge, Vienna 1910 (translated into Italian by B. Cattaneo, La cura d'anime nelle grandi Città, Rome, 1912, pp. 118-141, 170), had already given some figures concerning the number of parishes and their inhabitants and pastoral activities for Rome, Venice, Milan, Turin, Leghorn, Trieste.

⁴ Ut vitam habeant. L'apostolato dell'Azione Cattolica perche gli uomini vivano in grazia di Dio, Rome, Λ. V. E., 1935. — Another volume, also anonymous, Vivere in Cristo, Milan-Treviso, 1940, was on the same subject.

many men were living in a state of grace, and revealed that, according to statistics, in many of the town parishes of Italy 80 % and more did not attend Sunday Mass, 90 % and even 97 % of men and youths did not fulfil their Easter duties (although 99 % of the population were baptised); that even in the country districts there were parishes in which 60-70 % of the men were equally lax, and that in these places the best organised missions only reached a small fraction of men and youths. Now religious practices are not the whole of the Christian life; they are only an exterior manifestation; but their obligatory and visible character make them the chief outward sign of how vigorous is religion. Did not these figures show clearly what an enormous problem was to be faced?

The Study Centre "Vivere in Cristo" made an investigation during 1941-42 among hundreds of town and country parishes, schools, industrial and administrative establishments. Upon the findings of this enquiry and on episcopal documents (Turin, Milan, Fidenza, Carpi, Bologna, Florence, Montepulciano, Alife, Palermo, Caltagirone, Sardinia), Fr. Brambilla, the colleague of Fr. Corti, published an article on the actual situation in which souls were

living and the necessary methods of apostolate. 5

We see in it the leakage problem, how in all parts and in growing numbers the masses, especially the working classes in the towns, are dropping of from the essential practices of Sunday Mass and Easter duties. He points out how useful it would be to know exactly the number of those who do fulfil their duties. Here are some examples from town parishes where I/2, 2/3, 4/5, of the population miss Mass, where the proportion of those attending is 5 men to every 100 women, where less than half the women, 1/6th of the men and youths make their Easter duties. In the country districts and villages conditions are more consoling, sometimes attendance at Mass is 80-95 %, at Easter of 90-98 % (85 % and more of men), sometimes nearly 100 %. But here, also, 1/3 can be found missing Mass, or half the men not doing their Easter duties. And what about morality? Next, drawn from the same sources, the author shows the crisis of faith; 30 % ignorant of the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, 70 % of the other truths of the Credo. of the Decalogue, etc. Conditions are worst amongst the younger men in the thickly populated areas. Sometimes in the lower middleclass doubt becomes an open denial of the existence of God, the

⁵ F. Brambilla, S. J., Realta di anime e metodi di apostolato, in La Civiltà Cattolica (Rome), July-August 1943, pp. 96-102, 261-269.

Divinity of Christ, the Real Presence, the eternity of hell, the virginity of Mary, the infallibility of the Pope. The greatest evil, which all deplore, is religious apathy, indifference; there is no doubt that preaching and teaching must be made more real and penetrating. Ignorance is due to the fact that the people have little or no contact with the priest. § It is true, the above was not a scientific enquiry that would allow precise conclusions; but such soundings as this do reveal the concrete problems of religious sociology and the growing desire to have an accurate knowledge of them in order to provide a remedy!

This desire has intensified since the war. At the Study Week arranged for the Italian clergy during the summer of 1947, Fr. Dezza S. J. dealt with the value of religious statistics (practice, morality, faith, vocations) and quoted some recent figures. 7 In the course of similar Weeks held in 1948 on the subject of " The parish community," the preparatory questionnaire sent out by the Central Chaplaincy of Catholic Action was about the number of lapsed, seasonal, faithful, devout, works of zeal, etc. 8 The commentators insisted upon the necessity of direct enquiry and of statistics, national or at least local, in order to get to know the real state of religious vitality according to social class and different regions. 9

Statisticians. — Professional statisticians have shown the value for pastoral work, as for the bishop's government, of an exact, numerical knowledge of the visible manifestations of religious life

⁶ It is useless to enumerate the many books and articles which have appeared, above all in the last few years, in Italy on the subject of the problems of the apostolate and the need for a readaptation of methods of evangelisation. By way of examples, we may cite: A. Gemelli, Quello che i Lavoratori pensano di noi sacerdoti, in Rivista del Clero Ital., Milan, 1942, pp. 305-309; the discussion started in 1944 and 1946 by the Settimana del Clero (Padua) on the subject of what people think of the priest and on the practical difficulties of the apostolate; or the theological work of G. B. Guzzetti, La perdita delle Fede nei Cattolici, Venegono 1940; or that in preparation by Fr. Amorth of Pia Sancta S. Paolo on the religious situation of the masses and the present problems of apostolate. We must not omit mention of one of the most illustrious promoters of the new pastoral work, Mgr Bernareggi, bishop of Bergamo.

⁷ Dati, risultati di inchiesta, percentuali significative sulla vita morale e religiosa degli Italiani. We are grateful to Fr. Dezza, S. J., rector of the Gregorian University, for having had the kindness to send us his manuscript.

⁸ L'Assistente Ecclesiastico (Rome), 1948, pp. 180-182; cf. pp. 100, 162 et seq. It is true that the replies to the questions were few in number.

⁹ E. g. D. Bondioli, in *Riv. Clero Ital.*, Oct. 1948, pp. 391-394; L. Lazeri, O.F.M., in *Palestra del Clero* (Rovigo), Dec. 1948, pp. 29-31, Feb. 1949, pp. 164-166. Cf. *Civillá Catt.*, 20 Nov. 1948, p. 407.

of Catholics; for "figures talk"—they tell us where there are failings, what measures should be taken, what results are obtained, not only quantitatively but qualitatively. Hence the usefulness, if organised prudently, of a diocesan Office of ecclesiastical statistics, and even of a central office for the universal Church. The valuable article by professor Canaletti-Gaudenti in the Roman review Apollinaris in 1936 suggested a very comprehensive questionnaire programme, covering all subjects which could be made to yield statistics—population and parishes, clergy and religious, pastoral and sacramental work, associations and charities, schools and charitable institutions, temporalities, etc. This proposal aroused much interest in the pages of both Italian and foreign periodicals, and only a few criticisms, mainly directed at its size. ¹⁰

¹⁰ A. CANALETTI-GAUDENTI, De Statistico Officio in Ecclesiae usum constituendo, in Apollinaris (Rome), IX (1936), pp. 85-111. — The author has continued his work in Italian and extended it, La Statistica ad uso della Chiesa, Rome, 1938, 112 pp.; in a lengthy appendix he has printed the extremely numerous replies provoked by the first article.

The idea of a statistical organisation for the universal Church is an old one. As far back as 1901 at the "Katholikentag" at Osnabrück under the guidance of Mgr Baumgarten, a resolution had been passed in favour of such an institution. (P. M. BAUMGARTEN, in The Catholic Encyclopaedia, New York, 1912, vol. XIV, p. 270; cf. Stimmen der Zeit (Munich), LXXXVII (1914), p. 30. Fr. Krose, the initiator of the famous Kirchliches Handbuch, emphasised and enlarged upon the idea (H. KROSE, S. J., Zur Frage der Einrichtung eines Buros für katholische Statistik, in Hist. Pol. Blätter (Munich), CXXXIV (1904), pp. 830 et seq.; he even went to Rome about the matter in 1928. In 1927, Mgr L. Gramatica, professor at the Athenaeum at the Lateran had submitted a memorandum on the subject to H. H. Pius XI (cf. documents quoted by A. CANALETTI-GAUDENTI, La Statistica Ecclesiastica, in Atti della IIa Riunione Scientifica della Società Italiana di Statistica 1940, Ferrare, 1941, pp. 192-193. Professor LE Bras (cf. Rev. Hist. Église de France, XXIV (1938), pp. 324-330) and many other authorities have interested themselves in this problem. The numerical data which the bishops are bound to provide in their Quinquennial Reports (formerly sent to the S. Congregation of the Council and, since 1909, to the S. Consistorial Congregation; cf. the actual questionnaire in Acta Apost. Sedis, X (1918), pp. 487-503, and Dict. Théol. Cath., XI, pp. 1914-1916) have not been published. But since 1943, through the Secretariat of State the Annuario Pontificio has contained the figures sent by the dioceses, of places of worship, parishes, secular and religious priests, seminarists and newly ordained, religious houses and charitable institutions and schools, etc. and their personnel, the Catholic population and its total area. All these figures are of great importance, although some curious mistakes are apt to creep in. The S. C. of the Propaganda Fide publishes (especially since the beginning of the annual Missiones Catholicae, Rome, 1886) statistics of the mission countries from which can be culled figures as to the sacramental life, conversions, catechumens, etc. The Annuario Pontificio for the years 1947, 1948, 1949 mentions the existence near the S. C. of the Council of a "Statistical Office;" this mention has disappeared in 1950, which seems to indicate that after several attempts the venture has been given up.

Some specialists have taken up the work. The first subject for research, of obvious interest and comparatively easy to arrive at, was the number of secular priests and of religious of both sexes: T. Salvemini in a series of communications has studied the variations scientifically according to the State census carried out from 1861 to 1936, 11 the absolute numbers, percentages, indices of variability. the proportion to the total population and its density for the whole country and for different parts. The graphs show, after a general decline to 1881, an increase in women religious which becomes marked after 1921 (1.31 % in 1911, 3.06 % in 1936), while priests, both religious and secular decline (5.43 % in 1861, 2.21 % in 1911. 1.78 % in 1936). Regionally, the changes seem to be more marked north of Rome, above all in the increase of nuns; in Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, the decrease in the numbers of the clergy is less marked; the highest figures, other than Latium with Rome, were in 1931, Tridentine, Venetia, Piedmont, Umbria, the Marches. Campagna, Liguria (more than 2 %). But numbers are not everything, and Fr. Filograssi points out that, if secular and regular priests are fewer, their spiritual, apostolic and cultural qualities have greatly increased.

C. D'Agata has examined the various attempts at ecclesiastical statistics undertaken by the official organisations in Italy and the value of the real estate of parishes in twenty provinces chosen from all parts of the country. ¹² In 1943, he published a treatise on *Religious Statistics* in which he has collected and made a synthesis of the methodological studies and the practical data obtainable on ecclesiastical and denominational statistics for different countries of the world, especially in population censuses. ¹³

¹¹ T. Salvemini, La Statistica Eccles., con speciale riguardo al clero in Italia secondo i censimenti generali della popolazione, in Atti d. IIa Riun. Scient. 1940, pp. 203-226; Il clero secolare, i religiosi e le religiose in Italia dal 1881 al 1931 per compartimenti, in Atti d. VIa e VIIa Riun. Scient... 1943, Rome, 1945, pp. 578-607 (a weighty pastoral commentary by G. Filograssi, S. J., in Civiltà Catt., Dec. 1943, pp. 300-306); Influenza della Guerra del 1915-1918 e degli avvenimenti del dopo-guerra sugli addetti al culto in Italia, in Commentationes Pontif. Acad. Scientiarum, Rome, 1948, pp. 369-401 (graphs of ages in 1911 and 1931, etc.). See too A. Canaletti-Gaudenti, Sulla mortalità degli addetti al culto in Italia nel periodo 1928-1938, in Atri d. IIIa Riun. Scient... 1941, Rome, 1942, pp. 110-133.

¹² C. D'AGATA, La Statistica Eccles. noi tentativi di rilevazione fatti dagli organi ufficiali in Italia, in Atti d. IIa Riun. Scient... 1940, pp. 195-202; Sul presumibile valore del fondo rustico parrochiale in alcune provincia d'Italia, ibid., pp. 85-105.

¹³ C. D'AGATA, Statistica Religiosa (Trattato Elementare di Statistica, general editor C. Gini, vol. VI, part 3), Milan, Giuffrè, 1943, XI-174 pp. (with a bibliography).

M. Boldrini of Milan has also emphasised the value for the pastoral ministry of enquiries carried out as to ecclesiastical life and religious practice, and he has given some examples, notably concerning civil marriage. ¹⁴

We must add that the study of electoral statistics such as that made by U. Giusti ¹⁵ can be very helpful, when we remember the religious issues involved in the 1948 elections. One sees that for reasons partly social, partly historical, marxism (Fronte Democratico Popolare) was notably to the fore in Tuscany and Umbria and in the agricultural plain of the Po from Turin to Ravenna, south of the Lombardo-Venetian region and Emilia; and the high plateau of Piedmont, from north of Turin to Udine, all very industrial, gave the majority to the Democrazia Cristiana; as did also the southern half of the peninsula and the islands. Amongst the rural inhabitants, usually the labourers and workmen voted marxist except in Venetia while the smallholders and farmers voted democrat-christian.

The distribution of the Italian Catholic Action. - The religious organisation which is able to furnish reliable statistics, both national and regional, is Catholic Action. Of course, with regard to religious observance, one must not trust blindly in figures; groups which look imposing on paper may be almost non-existent as regards any genuine spirituality, while on the other hand, small communities may be full of Christian vitality; the local temperament, social structure or economic conditions may also prove an obstacle to organisation; there are very fervent parishes in which no sort of association can be formed. But, with these reserves, experience shows that the degree of development of the Movement is the best indication at present existing of the religious level of the people. At the end of 1950, the inscribed members, youths and adults of both sexes, are 2.4 millions, about 5.3 % of the total population (45 millions). But the geographical distribution is uneven: in the north, from 4 to 9 % (Piedmont 7, Lombardy 9.3, Venetia 8.5, Romagna 4.7, Emilia 6.8, Liguria 3.7, Tuscany 4.7, Umbria 4.4. the Marches 6, Sardinia 6.1) and in the south from 2 to 4 % (Latium

¹⁴ M. Boldrini, La vita della Chiesa e la Statistica, in Vita e Pensiero (Milan), Oct. 1941, pp. 435-442. Cf. M. Boldrini and A. Ugge, La mortalità dei missionari, Milan, 1926 (their lives are shortened by at least 14 years).

¹⁶ U. Giusti, Aspetti geografici e sociali delle elezioni politiche italiane del 18 Aprile 1948, Rome, 1949, 69 pp. and 1 map. Cf. Cronache Sociali (Rome), July 1948, a special number dealing with the elections of the 18th April, with maps and diagrams in professional categories.

3.8, Abruzzi 3, Campagna 2.8, Benevento 3, Apulia 3, Lucania 4, Salerno 2.7, Calabria 2, Sicily 2.6). These figures and overall percentages must be taken to include children up to 14, and out of the total membership men represent 11.9 %, women 19.5 %, youths 18.9 %, girls 15.4 %, boys 10.5 %, little girls 25.4 %. 16 It will be seen that the number of women is approximately double that of the men, that of youths nearly that of the women and higher than that of the girls: but these ratios must be modified according to the different regions, and one may say that generally speaking the proportion of men and youths is higher where Catholic Action is most active, as in Lombardy and Venetia, while the proportion of females increases where the Movement is less widespread, as in Apulia and Sicily; this proportion also varies with the nature of the country and so Lombardy which is industrial has a lower proportion of men to women than has the more exclusively agricultural Venetia. The difference between men and women is most marked in Piedmont, Calabria and Apulia.

If the south is less represented than the north, that is no doubt due partly to temperament, which is averse to all "organisation," and also to a lack of parochial halls; but the geographical division of the locality is probably a considerable factor. The number of parishes in proportion to the total population is much lower in the south where the agricultural community is usually concentrated in large villages or small towns, and the number of souls to a parish averages almost always more than 2.000 (maximum in Apulia, the average being 6.500), whilst in the north it is under 2.000 (except in the very industrial Lombardy, where the average is 2.370) where the rural dwellings are more scattered. The centres of ecclesiastical action are therefore proportionately less numerous in the south; the most striking case is that in Apulia, where with regard to women the percentage of parishes possessing a group is the highest (83 %, national average 55 %) and yet the number of members out of the total population is the lowest (1.7 %, the national average 3.9 %). Sardinia resembles the South in the distribution of its inhabitants and the north for the extent of religious organisation, doubtless owing to local temperament: perhaps the

¹⁶ Boys and little girls are counted below 14 years of age. The numerical facts on which this survey is based have very kindly been sent to us by the Central Secretariats of Catholic Action in Rome; some having already been published in the various periodicals of the Movement. The Secretary General Professor L. Palma is preparing for 1951 an Annual of Catholic Action in Italy, which will be an excellent source of information.

influence of the days when it was dependent upon Piedmont. As regards the social classes or professions, amongst the girls the rural groups predominate, except in Sicily and Apulia where the general character is urban, probably for the reason given above. In 1936, amongst the girls of 18 to 30 taking the country as a whole, those who were at home or working there represented about 4-5/10ths, the peasants 2/10ths, the factory hands 2/10ths; the first category was predominant in Sicily and Apulia, the second in Venetia, the third in Lombardy.

The Movement was growing until 1942-43, then owing to the War it received a grave setback, but has since gone forward with vigour and has now exceeded the earlier maximum.

Regional conditions. — Work on a national scale can only be undertaken after local efforts have carefully studied and prepared the ground. The enquiries to which allusion has been made (1942 and 1947) show that, in the parishes of Venetia (even in the towns), the Marches, and to the south of Placentia, the percentage of practising Catholics is from 80 to 100 %, ¹⁷ while in the towns of Emilia (even in the country), Tuscany and Liguria it falls to 30 %, even to 10-15 % with women in the majority, but with a general predominance of the paschal observance over that of Sunday Mass. In Genoa, Turin and Vicenzia researches have been made of variable usefulness. The pupils of Professor D'Agata have studied late baptisms in the parishes of Lombardy, Venetia, the Marches, Apulia. ¹⁸

In the south of Calabria, in the large towns, the percentage of men fulfilling their Easter duties is estimated at about 35 % and attendance at Sunday Mass at 30 %; while in the smaller centres the percentage is 50 % and 40 % respectively, the proportion of women being much higher: as regards baptisms and marriages in church, it is 100 %. In Sicily, ten years ago, fulfilment of the Paschal precept and attendance at Sunday Mass by the men and youths in some parts did not go beyond 10 %, sometimes much less: the religious tradition persists but ignorance, indifference and human respect were strong. There was no hostility. A revival has taken place since.

¹⁷ As to Venetia, cf. G. B. Monai, *Un congresso che non si farà*, in *Riv. Clero It.*, 1940, p. 262; in the diocese of Udine, 96 % of the children are registered at the catechism classes and the attendance is 92 %. In the Sunday school for adults the attendance is 34 %, about 15-20 % men, 10-15 % youths, 50 % women and 50-60 % girls.

¹⁸ The results have not been published.

Rome. - With regard to Rome, C. D'Agata has examined the baptismal registers of 9 parishes between 1929 and 1943, about 27,925 entries, and analysed the age of the infants at Baptism, which indicates to a certain extent the degree of faith or indifference in the families. This figure varies according to social class; the working class wait for some feastday, but the interval is usually less long among the poorest than among the others, for whom godparents may have to travel far - especially if the child is a boy. The social aspect of the ceremony tends to prevail over its religious character. The average delay after birth is 43 days (from 47 to 50 in 1929 to 1938, falling to 31 in 1943). This delay is 5 days more for boys than for girls. The greatest number are baptised between 16 and 30 days, the median number is 30. 19 As for the amount of religious observance in the population, it is impossible to estimate with certainty in the absence of exact data. Many experienced people consider that perhaps 10 % of the men and youths make their Easter duties, the number of women being notably higher; the decrease is continuous, but in Rome and elsewhere one wonders whether the Holy Year with its numerous returns to the Fold will not have changed matters.

The old Roman families have a long tradition of profound faith but negligence in regular observance; the new-comers, who have swelled the numbers threefold in the last quarter of a century so that the population is now nearly 2 million, are made up of dispossessed persons in the districts constructed under the Mussolini regime besides the very poor quarters peopled by refugees from the south, consequent upon the events of the war and its aftermath. The parishes are very extensive, from 50.000 to 60.000 (while in the centre they are often too small). Hence contact with the priest is made very difficult and hindered as well by active marxist propaganda.

The Milanese. — In Milan the figures for the men making their Easter duties seem to vary between 2.5 % and 17 %. At Varesotto, to the north, the large towns are better in their centres than in their immediate neighbourhood (55 % against 35 %), the country parishes better than the hamlets (85 % against 60 %). In the agricultural zone to the south, the proportion is 50 %. Generally speaking, except in the parishes of the town itself, there is a predominance

¹⁹ C. D'AGATA, Una indagine sui Battesimi in alcune parrochie di Roma, in Statistica (Milan), 1945-46, pp. 112-149.

of the performance of the paschal precept over Sunday Mass. 20 Researches into the attendance at Sunday Mass (figures and also the quality) have been carried out by the students of the Theological Faculty in a certain number of the principal parishes of the diocese. 21 The Instituto Sociale Ambrosiano 22 is now carrying out an extensive enquiry into the demographic, administrative, religious, economic, cultural and social conditions of the working classes for the whole province of Milan, so important from the point of view of industry, agriculture and population. 23 Also with the technical assistance of the "Doxa" Institute, they are preparing another on the industrial region of Gallarate (70.000 inhabitants, of which 20.500 work in factories, chiefly textile) to find out the views of the adults over 18 on the questions of matrimonial and family morals, divorce, eugenics, chastity, brothels, and strictly religious questions as to Mass and the Sacraments, the education of children. 24

The moral and spiritual conditions in factories, country districts and among students have been the subject of various detailed surveys with a view to the apostolate. As to the two first, at the end of 1944 when the Fascist Republic was at its last gasp, Fr. Pellegrino carried out an enquiry in four of the largest constructional works in Milan and Sesto-San-Giovanni, containing

²⁰ According to R. Perenna, Innovazione e rinnovamento della Parrochia, Como, 1950, pp. 57, etc., in the town of Milan the average attendance at Mass would be 15-17%, made up of 5-7% youths, 2-3% men. From 1938 to 1948 communions have dwindled everywhere by 30-50%. During some decades the cultured classes have been returning to the Church, but the semi-educated and uneducated are outside, not only the proletariat but also commercial and industrial classes. C. C. CECCHI in L'Osservatore Romano, 2-3 oct. 1950 (Crisi della parrochialità) praises this frankness: "It is useless to shut one's eyes to reality, to do as the ostrich is said to, hiding its head in order not to see the danger." However, P. Corti, several years earlier certainly, gives a higher average, from 15.5% to 29%.

²¹ The results are not published.

²² Realtà Sociale d'Oggi (Milan), the organ of the Institute, published in 1950 several works on the rural working classes, a bibliographical guide (n° 5, pp. 390-399), on the economico-social situation and the pastoral work (n° 1, pp. 43-47, n° 2, pp. 46-56; R. Bertoletti), on the agricultural proletariat (n° 2, pp. 12-22; C. Melzi), the marxist infiltration (n° 5, pp. 333-338; F. Briatico), and the pastorate in Sardinia (n° 4, pp. 281-289; F. Solinas).

²³ Un 'inchiesta di tipo economico sociale, Ibid., nº II, pp. 684-692.

²⁴ The results will be published as soon as possible. We must also mention L'inchiesta, strumento di indagine e di azione sociale, in Aggiornamenti Sociali, 1951, pp. 19-24 (published by the Centro di Studi Sociali of the Jesuits at Milan), an invitation to the work of inquiry and instructions as to method.

50,000 workers, and also in some of the smaller works. 25 Out. of the total, the militant antichristians represent an infinitesimal minority, a few hundreds; also infinitesimal is the minority of real militant Christians, — less than a thousand. Practising Catholics, of whom a certain number belong to Catholic associations. form about a half; but of these 95% have only a decadent, superficial, vague Catholicism. Convinced atheists are but few; but on the other hand, many believing in God, at the same time deny His Providence (wars, the sufferings of the good, etc.); many deny the virginity of Mary, but speak little of Jesus Christ; doubt as to a future life is widespread 26. The priests are looked upon as men like others, businessmen; the church is a shop (question of fees), the chastity of the clergy is not believed in; of the Pope, it was said last year that he wanted war; this year, that he is rich and allied to the capitalists. Almost 90% of the workers blaspheme (all the men and nearly all the married women, not quite so many among the youths and girls). Amongst the women, the married ones are less religious and more immoral than the girls. Serious disorders took place in the large factories, especially at the time of air alarms. It can be estimated that 90% of the factories are morally unhealthy.

Following the example of Don Pellegrino two priests of Busto-Arsizio, a textile centre of 50,000 inhabitants to the north of Milan, carried out a similar enquiry in April 1945. This concerned 100 employés of banks (70 men and 30 women), 660 textile workers (320 men, 340 women), 500 workers in shoe factories (250 men, 250 women), 180 women seamstresses. Nearly 100% of the women went to their Easter duties, and rather more than 50% of the men; about 50% of the men and 90% of the women to Sunday Mass. In March, preparation for Easter took place in the factories themselves, and, as a rule, the priest was well received. There was no organised antireligious propaganda, no serious immorality in the workshops; blasphemy was not widespread and there were not many sinful conversations. The religious and moral

²⁵ U. Pellegrino, L'ateismo e le masse lavoratrici, in Riv. Clero It., 1944, pp. 160-163. Also, Religione e massa operaia, Ibid., 1945, pp. 51-55. Don Pellegrino has been kind enough to send us the documents, unpublished, of this enquiry and the following one on Busto-Arsizio.

²⁶ On this subject, Fr. Morlion, O. P., Raccomandata agli amici, in L'Ora dell' azione (Rome), 16 Dec. 1950, wrote: "Amongst the thousands of cases enquired into by the direct method of enquiry we have not found 50 who have kept a real faith in the immortality of the soul. Almost all answered: 'Hell is here when we do evil and heaven is here when we are good."

situation amongst bank employés is better on the whole (more education, personality and independence) and also among the seam-stresses (no promiscuity). The morality is therefore much higher here, but it must be observed that in this region the establishments are medium or small, and the industry is textile.

After the Catechetical Congress at Milan in 1949 a priest Work Missionary, Don Bertoletti, caused a sensation with his report on the economic, social and religious conditions of the Milanese and the apostolic campaign which he had inaugurated. ²⁷

In this lowlying plain which extends for 30 kms to the south, the great majority of the inhabitants live in scattered hamlets. in rural settlements or cascine sometimes very far from the centre of the parish; they are chiefly agricultural labourers (braccianti), for the land belongs to a small number of landed proprietors (padroni) who hire out sections to farmers (fittabili), who work it themselves or by means of an agent. The termination of contracts at Martinmas in the autumn may cause a change in 60% of the population of a parish. These poor souls live isolated lives, with no easy means of communication with the centre of the parish, badly housed, with no schools but poor elementary ones. There is a social cleavage between the owners and farmers on the one hand and the peasants on the other; this is aggravated by the antagonism of party politics, the former being usually "white" (Democrazia Christiana) and the latter "red" (marxists), because of the awareness of the worker of his rights and his refusal to let himself be "exploited." Morality is not very low; as for religious practices, 90 % say evening prayers at least sometimes; attendance at Mass and Easter duties varies from 10 % to 70 %, less for the men and much less for the youths. Ignorance of religion is vast, and the worst consequence is distrust of the priest who lives in the centre of the parish and has no contact with them. This psychological state of affairs is to be explained by the political history of the past century, the social conditions abovementioned, by the weakness which has too often led the clergy to appear on the side of the owners (padroni and fittabili), excusing their economic and moral behaviour which is not always Christian. Besides this, there is the too frequent

²⁷ R. M. Bertoletti, Catechismi per contadini. Un esperimento pastorale catechistico nel Basso Milanese, in La Catechesi a Congresso, Atti del IIIº Congresso Catec. diocesano milanese, 1-4 Oct. 1949, Milan, 1950, pp. 110-117, and in Realtà Sociale d'Oggi, 1950, nº 2, pp. 46-50.

appearance today of religious who only come begging and not render service by their ministry. The way to sow the good seed is to reestablish contact and for this purpose to visit the isolated cascines with a lorry and a team of young men, to give socials both recreative and spiritual: 80 % will attend the ensuing Mass celebrated at midnight when possible.

In the public secondary schools in Milan an enquiry was held as to the teaching of religion in 1949 by Dr. Hazon ²⁸ president of the association of Catholic students (Gioventù Studentesca). He interrogated 85 youths in the technical institutes (14 declared themselves adverse, 42 indifferent, 29 in favour), 473 in the classical and science schools (60 adverse, 302 indifferent, 109 favourable) and 54 girls in training colleges. Out of the total, 13 % were against and the majority of these were the most frivolous and worst at their work, as results in other subjects showed; only a few were actuated by ideological motives (marxism or masonry) or by personal religious crises. The indifferent are 62 % but the proportion varies very much, even from one class to another in the same establishment (e. g. 85 % and 20 %) and many expressed practical views as to change in the syllabuses and methods. Among the 25 % who declared themselves in favour, 60 % criticised the syllabus and method of the religious course. The other professors had no practical influence on their attitude. And moreover it was apparent that the pupils had an esteem for their religious teachers, although they were criticised on their unawareness of the problems of modern thought and for ignoring the difficulties of their pupils, sometimes too freely expressed. All wished that their religious masters should show forth in their behaviour a real love of Christ.

The diocese of Mantua. — Bishop Menna has required every year since 1935 statistics to be presented of all the manifestations of religious life from the 153 parishes in his diocese: baptisms, marriages, last sacraments and funerals: attendance at Easter duties and Sunday Mass of men, women and children; attendance at catechism classes of children and adults; frequent communions, membership of sodalities and Catholic Action; and since 1948 he has also started an estimate of the practice of their religion by adults, men and women, according to professions. He says that he finds these figures, even if incomplete, a "good thermometer"

²⁸ F. HAZON, I risultati di un sondaggio sull'insegnamento della religione nelle scuole pubbliche Medie Superiori di Milano, in La catechesi a Congresso, pp. 130-31.

of the state of his flock and a guide for his pastoral visits. Figures have already been published in the diocesan bulletin. 29

Taking these data, a young priest of the diocese, Don A. Leoni, has attempted with the leave of his bishop and the discretion required in the circumstances, to make a scientific study of the whole of the religious sociology of the diocese and has presented it, as a thesis for the doctorate to the Gregorian University. After discriminating between the value of the different replies, he has taken the deanery as the base. He goes into the details of religious practice for the year 1948 and, as far as possible, in the past: then he compares the percentages of these with the geographical aspect of the different regions and the condition of the agricultural economy, dwelling places concentrated together or scattered, and the density of the population, the birth rate and movement of population, the family structure and morality, the degree of education, the diversity of the local temperament; he analyses the contrasts between the sexes and ages, between the different forms of agricultural life (there is but little industrial development and the capital with 50,000 inhabitants has the character of a large market town) and social conditions, the effects of the economic evolution and social conflicts during the last century, the influence of the political parties and finally the composition of the Church in Mantua, its places of worship, numbers of clergy now and in the past. There are a large number of maps and diagrams appended.

The diocese of Mantua is of particular significance in that it is situated in the centre of the plain of the Po, its boundaries on the north reaching the high plain of Piedmont (diocese of Brescia) and Venetia (diocese of Verona), well known for its religious faith, and to the south the low plain of Emilia, Modena, Ferrara, the part of Italy the most hostile to the faith. In the diocese itself, although there are often enormous differences between one parish and the next, the various zones, generally speaking, reflect these two opposite opinions. Thus, on the north, Upper Mantua provides an average attendance at Sunday Mass of 47 % of the population bound by the obligation (men 34 %, women 55 %, youths 37 %, girls 62 %; 30 and at Easter a higher percentage to a total of 69 % (men 50 %, women 76 %, youths 52%, girls 72 %). On the other hand, Low Mantua, to the south of the Po, gives

²⁹ Giornale Ufficiale della Diocesi di Mantova, June 1941, July 1942, June 1943, August 1944.

³⁰ Boys and girls are counted from 15 to 21. We have omitted to mention the children here in detail.

a percentage of 26 for Sunday Mass (men 10 %, women 32 %, youths 20 %, girls 48 %). It will be remarked how the ratio between the different figures by sex and age differs also from one zone to another. Middle Mantua gives an intermediary figure, 36 % for Mass attendance, 61 % for Easters; the town of Mantua, which is taken separately, 35 % to 57 %. If the social classes are taken into consideration, the proportion for Easter is for landowners 48 %, for farmers and smallholders 46 %, for the workers and labourers 25 %, for the whole diocese. Taken by regions the decrease from north to south, which is general, presents many anomalies if each category is taken separately; particularly striking is the variation between the ratio of men and women for Easter duties, although the latter are always in the majority.

PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN FOR EASTER DUTIES

	Upper Mantua	Middle Mantua	Lower Mantua
Landowners	14 %	37 %	60 %
Farmers and smallholders	9 %	19 %	33 %
Workmen and labourers	20 %	30 %	22 %

In Lower Mantua the high percentage among landowners will be noticed and the low figure for workers. Among the latter, attendance is low for both sexes, the women going out to work almost as much as the men, with all the sociological consequences that follow. In Middle Mantua, there is a vast zone of ricefields, with a much higher proportion of braccianti than elsewhere, but they are more devout than one would suppose to be the average for the category, both sexes included. This anomaly is to be explained in part by their nearness to the province of Verona, which is "good."

As to the attitude of the devout, in the south they are more independent, but also more solid and their religion is more personal, perhaps because it has to be asserted in a hostile milieu. Historically, some fragments of a survey undertaken in 1885 by the bishop, Mgr Sarto, the future Pius X, give one occasion to presume that observance has lessened: the Easter percentage appears to have been 74 % throughout, while it is now 60 %. 31

Study Centres.—Beginnings in religious sociology have been made in the following places: In Rome, by Professor Canaletti-Gauden-

 $^{^{31}\,\}mathrm{Don}$ A. Leoni has kindly sent us the above data, as yet unpublished : we are most grateful to him.

ti in lessons on Ecclesiastical Statistics at the Pontifical Athenee of the Lateran; by Prof. D'Agata at the Faculty of Statistical Sciences at the University of Rome, on the occasion of his course in Social Statistics, and chiefly by the practical exercises carried on by some of his students as to baptismal delays; by Fr. Droulers, S. J., at the Pontifical Gregorian University in a course on the sociological, geographical, and historical problems of religious vitality; courses in special statistics of the Faculties of Missiology in the Gregorian and in the Pontifical Athenee of Propaganda; in Milan, by Professors Oldani and Rimoldi in the Pontifical Faculty of Theology (Venegono-Inferiore, Varese) especially by means of parochial surveys; by the Ambrosian Social Institute which has studied the economic, social and religious situation in the working world.

As we have said, there are here only modest beginnings. The Latin minds seems to abhor figures and comparisons, at least until it grasps that they form the necessary basis for any investigation of the practical problems of souls and of pastoral and sociological questions.

From the few studies here mentioned we can perceive the value of similar works. It would be a good thing were many others carried out; even if less detailed, one could gradually draw up a " religious geography" of Italy and have some idea of the social factors which influence the life of the Christian, and so must be reckoned with in the work of the apostolate. ³²

DISCUSSION

Fr. Droulers suggested a comparison between the facts of religious sociology and the results of the elections. Fr. J. P. Ellerbeck, S. J., Rector of the Berchmannianum and professor at the Catholic University of Nimeguen, asked why the North of Italy, an industrial region, had voted "Christian Democratic."

³² The undersigned hope that they have not made any serious omissions and will be grateful to all who will help them to complete this documentation.

Fr. Droulers thought that one of the reasons was perhaps the better organisation of Catholic Action in the North. According to Frs. Talamo and Maritano, this vote was chiefly to be explained by the fear of communism.

Fr. Verscheure observed that in France also communism had lost ground in the workingclass centres, while it had gained in the country.

Profiting by the presence of Italians from both North and South, Mgr Delacroix asked for the explanation of the often superior attitude of the northern Italian to his compatriot from the South, even with regard to religious life.

According to Fr. Droulers, it is not uncalled for to compare the geology of a district with its religious life. Fr. Talamo proposed an explanation which included the differences of temperament and natural gifts, on the one hand, and causes of an historical nature, on the other.

Fr. Droulers had occasion to return later to the possible connection between geology and religious life. His study referred to the diocese of Mans. He compared two neighbouring districts: the one, dating from the primary epoch, was distinguished from the other by its religious and conservative character. Without denying the effects of other factors (differences of race and history), Fr. Droulers remarked that the nature of the soil has its influence on agriculture, methods of cultivation and the social structure; it is also probable that it leaves its mark on the psychology and religious behaviour of the natives.

Revival of Social Catholicism in Germany

Preliminary researches in religious sociology

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I. THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The growth of Catholicism in Germany during the XIX Century gave rise to a social movement, chiefly noted by the foundation in 1890 of the People's Union for a Catholic Germany (Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland). Three men collaborated in the formation of this union: an industrialist, Franz Brandts, a priest sociologist, Franz Hitze, and a statesman, Ludwig Windthorst. This "Volksverein" of München-Gladbach was a genuine association of the people for the people. The number of its members grew from 100,000 in 1890 to 800,000 in 1914; after 1920, it became stabilised at about 400,000 throughout the entire country. Its wide activity covered during half a century the spheres of religious, social, industrial and civic organisation, the teaching of Catholic doctrine, the full use of social influences and politi-

¹ Born at Elberfeld on the 9th April 1898, Adolphe Geck was employed in a bank before giving himself to sociology. His university training is widespread: a doctorate in philosophy and in law (University of Bonn), doctorate of the Higher Technical School of Berlin. In 1938, Dr. Geck started theological studies, was ordained priest in 1944; after four years of the ministry, he was put in charge of social activities by Cardinal Frings. — Principal works: Sozialpsychologie in Ausland (1928); Sozialpsychologie in Deutschland (1929); Die sozialen Arbeitsverhältnisse im Wandel der Zeit. Eine geschichtliche Einführung in die Betriebsoziologie (1931); Zur Grundlegung der Wirtschaftspädagogik (1935); Grundfragen der Betrieblichen Sozialpolitik (1935); Soziale Betriebsführung (1938; 2nd ed. 1951); Sozialpolitische Aufgaben (1950). — Address: Katholisch-Soziales Institut, Haupststr. 59, Königswinter, Germany (Editor's note).

co-social development in Germany. Publications, lectures, courses and above all the training of leaders, either workmen or intellectuals, were its principal means.

After the second world war, the German collapse prevented the reconstruction of the "Volksverein" or the foundation of a similar association, although everyone recognised its need. The diocesan isolation was maintained from 1945 to 1948 by the division of Germany into watertight zones of occupation. Money difficulties prevented the reconstitution of ecclesiastical and other religious organisations.

Lack of personnel prevented the resumption of Catholic social education.

The position of the Catholic Church in Germany in 1945, as well as in 1951, can only be understood if certain facts are taken into consideration. In 1945, she stood amidst national ruins and religious ruins. It is true that the late rulers had forbidden open conflict with her, but their underground war of extermination had been none the less disastrous. Hence, since 1945, German Catholics have been engaged in reconstruction. First of all churches and ecclesiastical establishments have to be restored, ecclesiastical administration reorganised, as well as Catholic associations, schools and Press.

A thousand churches had been completely destroyed, 3.000 churches partially demolished; 500 dailies and periodicals suppressed; of all the Catholic organisations, nothing survived except the "Caritasverband." The people themselves have to be set right again; the religious sophistries of the former rulers had poisoned many souls, who were moreover led astray by their material and spiritual distress. The pastorate and Catholic Action in particular have to be reorganised. ²

Some Catholics had already met occasionally, during the second world war, to study the possibilities of a renewal after the anticipated fall of the totalitarian power; they did not want to be unprepared when new tasks arose. Yet, great unexpected difficulties loomed at the very outset: restrictions imposed by the Occupation, the paucity of leaders capable of directing a social movement, discouragement due to the Occupation policy fostering indifference and inspiring fear of Communist progress.

Meantime, in 1945, the leaders of Catholic workmen and apprentices had started to reestablish their large organisations. In 1947 diocesan groups, united in an association of Catholic

² Cf. the article of Stefan Augsten, Der restaurative Charakter der kirchlichen Arbeit seit 1945, in Lebendige Seelsorge, January 1951, pp. 14-24.

workmen and apprentices of Western Germany were able to publish for their members the "Ketteler Wacht," a review for the instruction and education of the working classes of town and country.

The workers of the "Kolpingsfamilie" started again in 1948 their information bulletin, "Religion und Arbeit." It is now called "Kolpingsblatt;" in modern style, it continues to provide

professional culture based on religion.

The Catholic Movement of the workers developed in them the sense of personal responsibility. Catholic principles too were expounded to show the workingman his position in factory, business, State and society. The Apprentices' Association (Organisation der Gesellen) also began again its work of professional training, chiefly by correspondence course. The great care given to the social education of apprentices (in the wide sense of the term) resulted in the foundation at Berlin in 1940 of a social seminary. This initiative on the part of the Berlin group of the "Kolpingsfamilie" aims at making known the social and political doctrines of Catholicism and getting them put into practice. In October 1949, the "Kolpingsfamilie" organised a national congress of social teaching for its leaders.

The Association of Catholic employers in the South (Suddeutsche Verband katholischer Arbeitnehmer), reestablished in 1949 at Seehof in the form of a social institute, its earlier workmen's university. If the German J. O. C. has not developed as its first promoters hoped, on the other hand, the Association of the heads of Catholic employers (Bund katholischer Unternehmer), founded in the spring of 1949, has in a short time given a strong impulse to the Catholic employers' social aspirations.

Not only among men is there a renewal of interest in social work. ³ The *women's* organisations, although in a less degree, are studying social Catholicism. We may mention as examples: Jugend-

³ "Men's Catholic Association" (Katholische Männerwerk) is an association of Catholic men of all professions; it is divided into the Parochial Association for men (Pfarr-Männerwerk), comprising all the men of a parish, and the "Association of Professional Workers" (Betriebs-Männerwerk), comprising all the men of some enterprise or administration. Thus, the pastoral ministry with men is based in the parish and workplace. All the annual meetings held at Fulda, deal with topical problems, and suggestions are put forward. See, for instance, the report of the 1946 meeting: "For the Christian Organisation of Society. Questions relating to the pastoral care of men." (Auf dem Wege zur christlichen Gesellschaftsordnung. Fragen der Männerseelsorge) published by Anton Wohlgemut, Fulda, 1947, 146 pp. The central office at Fulda also publishes a journal for the men. The Men's association

bund des Katholischen Deutschen Frauenbundes at Berndorf on Rhine, the Catholic women's social schools such as that at Aix-la-Chapelle which foster social vocations, and the Bund der Katholischen Jugend at Altenberg near Cologne.

IL CENTRES FOR STUDY AND PROPAGANDA

In 1932 the economico-social institute of the People's Union (Volksverein für das Katholische Deutschland) organised, on the French model, a Catholic Social Week at München-Gladbach on "Professional organisation." It has been impossible to repeat this since 1933. But as soon as a certain liberty was restored, a first Catholic Social Week was held at Munich 18-22nd August. 1947. A social and economic programme was drawn up there on Christian bases. In 1948 there was a meeting only. But a second Week was held in 1949. These two "Weeks" held since the war dealt with present social problems; the main papers were published. The work, however, was mainly South German in character, as so few non-Bavarians were able to attend; it is hoped to hold a really national week. The South German members have continued the work by study circles and publications. 4

Discussion and training groups arose from the generally accepted need for social consciousness and social action. These circles, in existence since 1945, emphasise the need for the social training of the clergy and are doing something about it. Their discussions on technique frequently deal with the social problems posed by industry, e. g. co-management, discussed at the "Katholikentag » held at Bochum, September 1949. ⁵ These same questions were studied by the diocesan institutions for Christian social

On early December, 1948, a meeting was held in Munich on: "Social formation and vocation to the priesthood." On this occasion, the seminaries of the dioceses of Cologne and Bamberg gave

⁽Männerwerk) of the archdiocese of Cologne contributes to the work of formation by publishing "Work pamphlets" containing counsels and directives for the active collaborators of the association, also "leaflets regarding religious and social formation" which treat of particular social questions and aim at familiarising the greatest number of persons possible, with Christian social teaching.

⁴ See e. g. Der Weg aus der Not. Vortragsreihe der Katholisch-Sozialen Woche in

München 1947, published by Heinrich Krehle, Munich, 1948, 195 pp.

⁵ The "Katholikentag" of Bochum studied the social problem as a whole. See the report Gerechtigkeit schafft Frieden, Paderborn, Bonifatius-Drückerei.

their seminarists, some courses in social formation. Similar courses were given in a number of dioceses, to priests already engaged

in the sacred ministry.

His Eminence Cardinal Frings, archbishop of Cologne, a social apostle, planned in 1945 an institute for the teaching of Catholic social principles. Founded at the end of 1947, the Katholischsoziales Institut began modestly in the autumn of the following year at Königswinter on Rhine. At the end of 1949 the Institut für katholische Sozialarbeit of the archdiocese of Paderborn at Dortmund-Brackel was formed; at the end of 1950, the "Social Seminary" of the diocese of Münster in Westphalia. Other dioceses, such as Rottenburg am Neckar, only had social courses, mostly for workers, both men and women. Thus, each institute has its own features. At the Institute of Paderborn, the social courses for miners are very important. The Social Seminary of Münster is beginning to establish branches; the young people there will be enabled to study Christian social teaching, thanks to Sunday and evening courses, divided into six sessions of a half year each. These institutes aim, above all, at achieving social formation. The Institute of Königswinter, on the other hand, is concerned with work that is principally scientific.

In spite of the obstacles to its development, the Institute of Königswinter remains by its activities and work the prototype

of a Katholisch-soziales Institut.

Its statutes emphasise the necessity for development and diffusion of Catholic social doctrine by word and pen. This means first of all, training courses of three or four days and weekends, concerned with the basic facts and precepts, then carried on by development courses; secondly, social days during which debates take place amongst representatives of different professions on topical questions; thirdly, the organisation of correspondence courses, and finally, the formation of cadres.

The institute does not mean only to act through courses and correspondence of its own, for some Catholic professional associations do social training work, and, besides, other systems are sometimes better adapted to circumstances. In such cases, the

institute confines itself to helping others.

While the institute carries on the methodical study of the social situation and its developments, questions of urgent importance are constantly arising. Hence, other means are very necessary: a popular review on social questions (at present impossible), tracts, brochures and books.

The activities have two immediate ends in view: to turn doctrine into practice by using the results attained by social sciences, in particular sociology and modern social psychology; to build up a social theology to develop and raise on to a higher plane Christian social teaching, which up to now has been based chiefly on social philosophy.

This social theology will not only contribute to the renewal of the Christian social idea, but also to the progress of the social pastorate. From this point of view, the institute looks forward to a *social education* of the priesthood and a *social geography* of the parishes.

Individualism, based on the nominalism of the middle ages, has its influence on thought as on conduct, and since the Renaissance has not only imposed itself on individuals, but the pastorate

and preaching have not escaped its effects.

Hence arises the fundamentally individualistic life of believers. The first lessons of social theology must therefore insist on the existence of human realities which are social as well as individual: the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ, the communion of Saints, humanity itself forming one unity in God. The social teaching of the Old and New Testament will be studied, together with that of the Fathers, theologians and the Church. The life of the Church manifested in its liturgy, and Church law, the expression of the social conception of the Church, are also considered. Attention is drawn to the social aspect of the dogmas; the trinitarian life of the Divine Persons, prototype of the communal human life, based chiefly on the union, love, justice, solidarity and mutual help; the social consequences of original sin; the redemptive work of Christ, the greatest social fact in history. The essentially social nature of the duties of the Christian are shown, called as he is to continue the work of Christ, also the social aspect of grace and personal sin, the social meaning of the sacraments, the social efficacy of prayer, sacrifice and reparation and of the whole Christian life. The communion of saints is explained as the means and social end of the mystical life of the holy Church as the Mystical Body of Christ, etc. In many courses or lectures the deep impression made by these explanations has been observed 6

⁶ See articles by L. H. Ad. Geck, Sozialtheologie, in Die Kirche in der Welt, 1949, pp. 471-480; Sozialtheologie als Aufgabe, in Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift, 1950, pp. 161-171; Christliche Sozialprinzipien. Zum Aufbau einer Sozialtheologie, in Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift, 1950, pp. 28-53. La théologie sociale source

III. THE ACTIVITIES OF RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY

Theological social studies should give a new impetus to the Christian social movement amongst the faithful and their leaders, and should also draw priests towards a pastorate of a social nature. This latter is, however, not unknown in Germany; on the contrary, it has been practised for nearly a century. In 1863, Döllinger, professor of theology at Munich, urged the clergy to occupy themselves with political economy and the social question. At the episcopal conference at Fulda in 1869, Mgr von Ketteler asked for a systematic, scientific and practical initiation of the clergy into the workingclass problem and the tasks of the pastorate with regard to it. In 1897 Englert, professor of theology at Bonn expressed the wish in his book Arbeitergeistliche to see "workers'chaplains" multiplied and specially trained; in Soziale Konferenzen unter dem Klerus in 1899 he exhorted the Peoples Union to promote more lectures. In 1909 Joseph Beck published his celebrated letters on the ministry among the workers (Ueber Arbeiterseelsorge). This pastorate was not only discussed, but also written up in numerous publications. 7 In the winter of 1931/32 Wilhelm Heinen, professor of moral theology at the seminary of Cologne took Social preaching as the subject of a series of social lectures, at once theological and pastoral. The dogmatic section contained among others the following chapter headings: "God, prototype of the com-

pour la solution des problèmes sociaux, in Deuxième Conférence Internationale de Sociologie Religieuse, April 1949, Louvain, Belgium (article reprinted in Prêtres Diocésains, Paris, Nov. 1949). The fundamentals of Social Theology, in Christus Rex, July 1949, pp. 41-47.

⁷ See: Wilhelm Schwer, Der soziale Gedanke in der katholischen Seelsorge, Cologne, 1921; Johannes Honnef, Die soziale Predigt, Paderborn, 1920; Alfred Grunz, Allgemeine und spezielle Arbeiterseelsorge, ihre psychologische Grundlegung und ihre praktische Gestaltung, Berlin, 1929 (this is the work of a Protestant which has aroused the attention of Catholics occupied with the same problem); J. P. Steffes, Industriearbeiter und Seelsorge, M.-Gladbach, 1926; Joseph Höfer, Vom Seelenzustand des noch katholischen Arbeiters, in Theologie und Glaube, XIX (1927), pp. 47-84; Moderne Arbeiterseelsorge, herausgegeben von den Diözesanleitungen der kath. Arbeitervereine Westdeutschlands, M.-Gladbach, 1930; Die religiöse und sittliche Lage der Industrie-Massen und ihre kirchliche Erfassung, herausgegeben von Dr. Konermann, Münster-Westphalia, 1928; Jakob Hubert Schutz, Die Kirche und die menschliche Gesellschaft, 23 soziale Predigten, Paderborn, 1903; Brennende Fragen der Land-und Industrie-Seelsorge, Predigten und Vorträge, herausgegeben von Konermann und Marx, Münster i. W., 1933; Otto Schilling, Das soziale Evangelium, 20 Predigten im Dienste der sozialchristlichen Bewegung, Paderborn, 1934.

munitarian idea "— "Sin as an asocial act and God "— "The social question in Christ's teaching." Social preaching was defined as preaching "directed to giving our life a Christian social structure founded on the faith and Catholic philosophy. "8 The words of Cardinal Faulhaber, then a young bishop, at the "Katholikentag" at Mayence in 1911 have not been without an echo: "The reconquest of the working classes is the most thorny problem of the modern pastorate and the great anxiety of our ministry."

However, those who are familiar with the present situation and, above all, with its social aspect, are far from being satisfied with the results of social teaching and action. At least, they can observe a renewal of social Catholicism in Germany, as shown by a fresh and very important addition to the social pastorate, namely, social parochial geography.

Unfortunately, the French activities in this direction were not known in Germany, even those specialising in the matter had not read the book by Prof. Le Bras, Introduction à l'étude de la pratique religieuse en France. The review Herder-Korrespondenz gave, however, the essence of the French work in its number of June 1048.

For twenty years now the use of a parochial file has been adopted in all the parishes. The cards are in different colours according as they concern families or adult celibates. A certain number of headings facilitate the classification of personal data, which are completed by brief remarks subsequent to house visiting. Moveable metal clips are used to indicate certain tendencies. Since 1945, the files of certain parishes have been reconstituted with great labour; very often this work has been impossible, priests being overworked and the population of the parishes constantly changing. All the same, the files are a precious asset for determining the sociography of a parish. Also, of great use for parochial sociography are the data supplied by the Official centre of ecclesiastical statistics of Catholic Germany (Amtliche Zentralstelle für kirchliche Statistik des katholischen Deutschlands) established at Cologne, and by the "Bonifatiusverein," founded in 1849 and established

⁸ Here we would mention the social work of the pastoral office of the archdiocese of Cologne, directed by Mgr Heinen. This office founded in 1945 a 'Wander-akademie' for the clergy of the archdiocese. The helpers in this 'academy' go from deanery to deanery where, in several lectures, they explain different problems of the day and their solution. The second 'Wanderakademie' had for subject 'Man and his social duties.' The third, which started in September 1950, deals in five lectures with 'Marriage and the family, 'an up to date problem.

at Paderborn, which is particularly concerned with the pastorate

of the regions in the German Diaspora.

At the beginning of January 1948, Dr. Ludwig Neundörfer, head of the social geography institute at the University of Frankfurt on Main, gave a lecture on the social structure of Cologne. He gave as a principle that, if a doctor needs to have a thorough knowledge of the human body, those who wish to heal the social body and those who, like priests, are working chiefly on social relations, should have an exact knowledge of the conditions of life in the sphere in which they exercise their apostolate. Encouraged by this lecture, several priests undertook to make a social map of their parishes, Dr. Robert Grosche, the dean of Saint-Géréon and the Abbé Jakob Clemens, pastor of Saint Engelbert at Cologne. The latter has published the results of his enquiries in the review Stimmen der Zeit, February 1949, under the heading Eine Grossstadtpfarrei nach dem Krieg (a large city parish after the war) on the following lines:

The religious situation of the various denominations in the area covered by the parish, including the lapsed and returns to the Church from 1937 to 1947. The family position, ages of both sexes and the number of marriages taking place in church from 1939 to 1947. The professional groupings. Conclusions to be drawn from these data for the pastorate in general and particularly for

house visiting, preaching, training outside the church.

Fr. Clemens' report served as a starting point for practical work in 1949 and 1950 by the students of theology on the social structure of the town of Bonn. They were guided by Fr. Monzel, professor of Christian sociology at the Faculty of Theology at the university in that town. After having made out a statistical monograph of Bonn, describing: 1st, the social structure, the condition of individuals, families and houses; 2nd, the economic situation of the population as seen from the activities of those engaged in the crafts, industry, commerce and administration; 3rdly, the political situation with regard to the different parties; 4thly, the culture of the people; 5thly, religion. In spite of some defects, an excellent result was achieved by these exercises: these future priests have been initiated into parochial geography. It is important to note that these exercises were preceded by a visit to the official bureau of statistics for Bonn.

A number of sociographic schemes, encouraged by the dioceses, seem to be in progress. The archdiocese of Cologne is negotiating with the Catholic Social Institute of Königswinter. The archdiocese of Paderborn is now engaged on a methodic

setting of parochial monographs. A start was made with the villages; particular problems such as "traditional Catholicism" (Traditionskatholizismus), will be tackled next, then the vitality of parochial associations, the impact of the Church on public life.

In judging external facts we must beware of stopping at appearences and symptoms. Christian life and parochial life have an "interior aspect" that is only partially expressed in exterior behaviour. In order to grasp that inner aspect, sociography must have recourse to more delicate methods. It is also noteworthy that parochial sociography in Germany is confronted at the moment with serious difficulties: instability of parochial populations, owing to the arrival and departure of war victims and refugees. Besides, it must not be forgotten that the success of the methods used in parochial sociography depends on various conditions, in particular to their adaptibility to the prevalent mentality in certain regions or States. Finally, notwithstanding their great importance, sociographic enterprises are not the only ones; they only form part of a whole. They must not be allowed to obscure tasks set for us by the modern social pastorate.

The chief criticism that can be made as to these attempts at social geography is that enough account was not taken of those social elements which are not represented by statistics. The rectification of this error would contribute largely to the development

of a typically social pastorate.

The need for such a pastorate appears very clearly in discussions started by Fr. Alphonsus Fischer at Freiburg in Baden by means of the "Freie Vereinigung für Seelsorgehilfe." The aim was to clear up the preliminary questions for a more elaborate parochial geography which should establish the social structure of the German modern parochial community. These discussions were occasioned by the failure of the pastorate and even its damaging results. Certain zealous priests were moved to action in a truly missionary spirit.

Fr. Fischer points out that the *first task* is the making of a sort of parish "topography" using the help of sociologists. This would be a means of "pastorate of conversion" and even, if required, into a "pastorate of the milieu." In the parish topography, a large place must be given to housing conditions, using the parochial statistics (as the parochial bureaux do now in Germany), so

⁹ See his articles: Missionarische Seelsorge, in Werkblätter für die Seelsorge, Nov. 1949, pp. 1-15; Katholisches Ghetto oder christliche Weltdurchdringung in Lebendige Seelsorge, May 1950, pp. 78-86.

important if kept up to date. Further, it is necessary to evaluate culturally and sociologically the factors in the progress or decline of the parish, which neither topography nor figures will show; for instance, the opinions held about the priests and bishops; influence of large and small towns, frequenting of cafés, inns, cinemas and leisure in general; the efficacy of the religious institutions such as kindergartens and schools; the lives of individuals and their groupings.

The second task according to Fischer is to "create a climate." For this, meetings between priest and people are required, both occasional and regular; on the occasions of marriages, baptisms, sickness, death and first communion. The priest needs to estimate the attraction exercised by pictures, films, games, liturgy, periodicals and find out the subjects of conversations in the homes and elsewhere.

The *third task* consists in training an "advance-guard;" that is to say, lay apostles, chosen from among the people to stimulate their collaboration.

The practical social pastorate concentrates on the problems of reviving family life. A whole series of pastoral letters took the family as their theme, among them, those of the Bishops of Cologne, Mayence, Münster.

The main problem of practical social pastorate in Germany is that of ministering to the refugees: it has to be envisaged as a parochial social problem. Unfortunately, the urgent necessities of daily life have impeded serious work towards a solution.

It is besides very complex in view of the psychological divergences between the natives and the refugees, the important growth in size of parishes due to the influx of new-comers, the distance separating the various groups within a single parish, the lack of priests. It suffices to glance at the map of Wismar, to realise the difficulty of studying sociographically such a parish. It comprises no less than 80 centers; moreover, outside Wismar, there are 12 centers to be served and 20 centers in which the children have to be catechised. Few people suspect the Christian heroism demanded of priests and faithful in these regions of the Diaspora. 11

¹⁰ For details on this subject see the Priests' Bulletin (Priesterheft) of the "Bonifatiusverein" entitled: *Im Dienste des heiligen Bonifatius*, Paderborn, 1950, pp. 23-25.

¹¹ See on this subject J. V.-M. POLLET, O. P., Les douze millions de réfugiés allemands: étude de sociologie religieuse, in: Documents, Dec. 1950, pp. 1224-1245 (Special number: Peuple sans patrie).

This article, necessarily incomplete, shows what has been accomplished in Germany for a renewal of social Catholicism. In spite of their imperfections, the attempts made witness to a Christian vitality triumphing over the serious difficulties of our times.

Is it not an indication of the end to be pursued? Victory over individualism, protection against collectivism, working towards a Christian social universalism, which proclaims the value of the human personality and the unity and interdependence of mankind.

Workers in the Catholic social revival in Germany wish to collaborate with Catholics and the Catholic social movement abroad; they hope to profit by their experience and to be of use to them in return. They are anxious thus to testify to their complete dedication to the cause of the universal Church "Una Sancta."

The Changes in Religious Life in Spain During the Last Twenty Years

Review of researches in sociology of religion

by Leo Delaa

with the collaboration of

Florentino DEL VALLE, Severino AZNAR, José PIQUER Y JOVER 1

As far as we are aware there are as yet no scientific studies, statistical or sociological, on religious life in Spain. However the problem has worried the minds of some people: priests anxious to know and make known the facts, since this is the first condition for any appropriate and effective apostolic action; also sociologists actuated by scientific motives and the desire to help the work of the apostles. Doubtless a wide variety of data could be collected from innumerable books and periodicals, religious and secular, and a great harvest would be garnered. The Ecclesiastical Year Books give the figures for each diocese of the number of parishes and their population, of secular and regular clergy, schools, charitable institutions, social works, and also analyses of some particular pastoral questions. 2 Here is matter for comparative studies on different geographical regions at different periods, especially the proportion of clergy to the total population and on the development of social entreprises.

The article of Leo Delaa, the distinguished sociologist, has been supplemented by valuable contributions from Professor Severino Aznar, director of the Balmès Institute, Fr. Florentino del Valle, S. J., professor of sociology at the Pontifical University of Salamanca, and from José J. Piquer y Jover, secretary of the provincial commission for the protection of minors in Barcelona. We have also received a well documented note from M. Fernando Martin-Sanchez Julia, which we will reproduce in another issue (Editor's note).

² E. g.: Anuario Eclesiastico, Barcelona, ed. Subirana, 1915 et seq. Anuario Religioso Español, Madrid, Av. José Antonio 27, 1947 et seq. (also the figures for each diocese of the number of priests and religious assassinated in the marxist revolution); Guia Social de España, Madrid, Fomento Social, 1946.

In the following pages we shall try to indicate the chief of the works dealing with religious life in Spain about 1935 and then some observations on the present situation.

I. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE IN SPAIN ABOUT 1935; THE CHIEF PUBLICATIONS OF RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY

Studying the problems of the apostolate, Fr. Peiró, ² fifteen years ago, showed the need for and the conditions of lay Catholic Action, chiefly because of the unequal distribution of the parochial clergy (in Madrid at Sta Barbara 1 priest for 1,250 souls; at Puente di Vallecas 1 for 16.000). ⁴ He stressed the essential importance in these days of the social apostolate, and in connection with this he examined the relation between the social and the religious crisis, the causes of the dechristianisation of the workingclasses; viz. physical misery, transformation of the economic life, masonic influence, revolutionary propaganda, and above all the "weakening of the Christian spirit" throughout Spain in the XIX century. He made this more concrete by numerical estimates of the religious state of the country; they illustrate the warnings of bishops and preachers, and they show how "the mass of the workers are no

³ Fr. Peiró, S. J., El apostolado seglar, Seville, 1933, pp. 12-13.

⁴ Fr. Peiró, El problema religioso-social en España, Madrid, 1936, pp. 13-16. Fr. Peiró has observed elsewhere however that many of the poor do not go to church through lack of shoes, or decent clothes, which is relatively an excuse, and that the non-working classes remain faithful to Catholicism. Quoted in Razon y Fé, Madrid, 108 (1935), p. 304. Other evidence agrees, Ibid., pp. 302-304. Fr. Peiró's Book is out of date; it reflects the atmosphere of the dark years of the Republic, officially atheist, and of the Revolution. Since then, churches, schools and parochial clinics have multiplied in the suburbs of Madrid. The Patriarch has created thirty new parishes; a certain number of churches have been built and others are under construction. All over Spain, Catholics of all ages and all classes are attending the churches in greater numbers, following retreats and missions

In the same way, the figures quoted by Fr. SARABIA in his book reflect the times in which he collected them, but not the situation as it is today.

However, according to Professor Aznar when questioned on this subject, the Spanish religious society is no more Christian than it was fifty years ago. Certainly the then forces of dechristianisation, secularism, masonry, anarchy, revolutionary syndicalism, the sectarian press, have disappeared and ignorance of religion has sensibly diminished. In spite of that and despite an intensified religious practice, the constant life, that is to say the observance of the commandments, has been seriously compromised by new social sins: the vogue of theatrical revues and the diffusion of malthusianism, opposed to the sixth, the starvation wages and the sabotage of work against the seventh commandment, and unbridled luxury, a cause of distress among the poor.

longer Catholic." For instance, in the centre, in the dioceses of Cuenca, Toledo, Madrid, there are "fairly numerous places" where 5% of the total population fulfilled their Easter duties and attend Sunday Mass; in some places the priest celebrates alone; in central and southern Spain there is a host of rural parishes where 10% of the population are regular in their practice, the rest being content with baptism. First Communion, marriage and religious burial. And he adds, with perhaps too great pessimism, routine religious practice lasts a long time after a soul has lost its faith. So much for the country districts. In the towns where there are a great number of industrial workers, such as Madrid, Bilbao, Seville, "one comes across great sections of the population which are completely pagan." In the outskirts of the capital a parish like S. Ramon de Vallecas (pop. 80.000) has a Sunday Mass attendance of 4 % including the 3.000 schoolchildren, 6 % receive Easter communions, 10 % the Last Sacraments; 25 % of the children are not baptised, 20 % are civil marriages, and of the couples who are married in church 40 % do not know the Our Father; of the schoolchildren in the parochial schools 90 % lapse after leaving; and in other parishes the figures are hardly any better (S. Millan, 29.000 pop: 10 % at Mass, 10 % at Easter duties, Last Sacraments 60 %; Las Penuelas, 32.000 pop.: Mass attendance 12 %, Easter duties 15 %, Last Sacraments 75 %). And all this in spite of numerous "contact" schemes of Catholic zeal. 5

Shortly after, Fr. Sarabia dealt as it were ex professo with this religious situation. In spite of the grief it caused him, he felt it his duty to speak out, and tell the truth as he knew it, in order to dispel fond yet harmful illusions. In a book with the provocative title: Spain, are you Catholic? this missionary who has travelled all over the country for 35 years, tells what he has seen. In order to avoid fanciful judgments, he refers sometimes to the very size of the churches and the number of Masses to calculate the attendance figures. He has preached in Castille, Asturia, Leon and Galicia, the Basque Provinces, Aragon and Catalonia, Valencia and Murcia, Andalusia, Estremadura and La Mancha. He deplores the fact that too many bishops and priests refuse to accept the evidence of "the horrible paganism in which many of the villages of Catholic Spain live" and the "utter paganism"

⁵ R. SARABIA, C. ss. R., ¿ España...; es católica?, Madrid, 1939, pp. 11, 34. ⁶ Ibid., p. 34: "My witness is true" he repeats on p. 46.

In one town of 25.000 inhabitants, the priest estimated that attendance at Mass was 3.000; actually it was 400. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

of the working classes in the towns. 8 He estimates that, in the large towns, 7 to 10 % of the men fulfil the Easter precept, a few more attend Sunday Mass; in the Madrid suburbs perhaps 10 % of the total population attend Mass, in the centre 25 % of the women and 8 % of the men; 9 and there are many places with 10.000 inhabitants and more where not one man goes to his Easter duties; in one town, Palencia, reputed to be very religious, not more than 30 % of the men are seen at Mass. There are great differences between the different provinces, even in the country districts, from the regions in the north centre, notably Old Castille and Leon, the Basque Provinces and Navarre, where nearly all go, down to places where the figures are miserably low. For the country as a whole, 20 % of the Catholics attend Sunday mass, 15 % go to their Easter duties (the context seems to indicate that these figures concern only the men). 10

The author seeks the causes of this state of affairs, and he finds them in the dissemination of liberal ideas, "Spain has lost herself," in the combination of a frivolous and wordly life with a formal and exterior practice of the commandments, 11 but above all in "an enormous ignorance of religion." 12 And here Fr. Sarabia embarks on an historical analysis of the responsible factors operating over a century; political decadence and foreign ideologies, slowness in taking up the social teaching of the Popes, failings on the part of parish priests, religious, schoolmasters and fathers of families. He dwells on failures in preaching and in the teaching of the catechism so often purely literal and mechanical and not explained; on the exterior and material way of going to Confession and Easter Communion. 13 One may remark how this last point tallies exactly

9 Cfr Razon y Fé, 108 (1935), p. 302; at the beginning of this century Cardinal Sancha ordered "a strict census" of Madrid which resulted in the figures of 400 of the population fulfilling the Paschal precept and 5% receiving the last sacra-

ments.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 37, 321-322. A preacher having declared in the pulpit that in Spain 4/5th of the men did not attend Mass and that fewer still fulfilled the Easter precept, " a venerable and prudent priest told him that he should not say such things because it scandalised sensitive souls and discouraged the good. " Ibid., p. 69. Cfr Razon y Fé, 108 (1935), p. 303. How many countries have not heard and still hear the same prejudice!

¹⁰ R. SARABIA, op. cit., pp. 339-340, 358, 363; cfr p. 69. In the whole book it is obvious that the author is mainly concerned with the lapse of the men.

¹¹ Ibid., p.123. Cfr p. 197, "Many go to mass for the same reason that they go to play cards with a friend - out of politeness."

^{12 &}quot; Mas de las causas principalisimas que no han traido a la situacion actual es la nuestra enorme ignorancia. " Ibid., p. 124. 13 Ibid., pp. 81-237; "The causes of our Catholic decadence," etc.

with Canon Boulard's observation that inadequate catechetical instruction, the 'lack of evangelisation' during a century, is the principal cause of religious indifference in the countryside of France. 14

Fr. Sarabia's book is not a geographical and sociological examination conducted with scientific exactness. Although he takes you through all the various provinces, giving facts, he does not allow you to form a definite picture of the different parts of Spain; he only says that owing to temperament, climate and history, the southern parts were in a greater state of religious ignorance than the north, that you find a much weaker practice of religion and a greater show of revolutionary and socialist ideas and antireligious ferocity. ¹⁵ His book is a sermon reproaching Catholic Spain for her shortcomings, so one must not expect to find a complete balanced portrait of the religious features with the good alongside the bad; that was not his aim. But such as it is, the book shows there is material for a systematic study of pastoral and scientific value.

Frs. Peiró and Sarabia claim only to give approximate figures. But coming from such qualified men, these figures are worthy of consideration. In such matters, strictly accurate statistics are not so valuable by reason of their mathematical exactitude as by the size of the problem they suggest and the psycho-sociolo-

gical interpretation they are given by the expert.

A synthesis of the religious problem in Spain was published by Fr. Vargas Zuũiga in 1935-36 in the review Razon y Fé. ¹⁶ He worked upon a number of previous studies and official statistics. He analyses not only the parochial and sacramental life, but the whole structure of the Church in Spain, the spirit animating it in its various manifestations, its defects and its qualities. The picture is faithful and sombre, but not discouraging. Not enough practice of religion; religion is too external, an excessive individualism; too complacent a confidence in the strength of the nation's age-long Catholicism and in traditional pastoral methods; too little education amongst the faithful and the clergy; but on the other hand there is the real faith in nearly the entire population ¹⁷

15 R. SARABIA, op. cit., p. 176.

¹⁴ Fr. Boulard, Problèmes missionnaires de la France rurale, Paris, 1945, vol. I, pp. 185-190.

¹⁶ E. VARGAS ZUÑIGA, El problema religioso de España, in Razon y Fé, 108 (1935), pp. 289-307; 109 (1935), pp. 145-164; 110 (1936), pp. 99-116.

[&]quot;The most apt remark is perhaps that of Cardinal Gomà (12th July 1933): "España... es catolica... casi toda; pero lo es poco" quoted *Ibid.*, 109 (1935), p. 147.

and a deep union with the Church, a spontaneous practice by the rural population of the essential virtues of Christianity, a zealous and virtuous clergy, fine work by religious, many works of charity, education, and apostolate. But as for precise and regional data, we get no more than has already been mentioned above. Fr. Azpiazu had an article 18 showing the causes of irreligion among the Spanish workers. They are the same as those obtaining in almost all the cities of Europe and America. a) Machinery and capitalism; b) scientific economics, extremely irreligious from its beginnings; c) social injustice among producers; d) greed for gain and its effects on the soul.

II. RELIGIOUS REVIVAL. RECENT STUDIES

Since that time things have greatly changed... but can one imagine a whole people, especially in such an intimate matter as religion, changing in an instant? A fine example of apostolic work is to be found in the environs of Madrid. 19 Here is accumulated an enormous number of heterogeneous and displaced people, and here is to be seen the establishment of places of worship and great work by priests and layfolk in Catholic Action, the gradual retreat of "paganism," an improvement in morality and the practice of religion (which recently was sometimes only 2 %). For the latter we have exact figures: Easter duties and Sunday Mass attendance was about 6% in 1939, 14% in 1943, 19% in 1946 for the whole of the parishes under review; baptisms, marriages, the Last Sacraments are also going up fast. 20 These exterior acts are of course not the full expression of religious life in souls; there must be interior piety, and on the other hand it would be wrong to deny any faith or piety in those who do not practice their religion; fidelity to those actions which sanctify the chief phases of life - baptism, First Communion, marriage, death, is not without significance. One need not laugh off the half humorous saying of a famous sociologist that in a particular province pilgrimages "make up for" religious duties. 21 These things

¹⁸ Fomento social, nº 15, July-September 1949, pp. 267-286.

¹⁹ Fr. DEL VALLE, S. J., La corona de espinas de Madrid, in Razon y Fé, February 1949, pp. 99-124.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 119-120. 21 G. LE BRAS, in Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France, 128 (1942), p. 227; on French and Spanish Catalonia. Cfr similar and more generalised observations in Razon y Fé, 108 (1939), pp. 301-302.

are some indication of interior dispositions; they can be noted and they are good starting point for a deeper psychological and

sociological study.

Various methods have been employed for bringing back these souls to the Church. In the large cities like Madrid and Barcelona 22 the parishes have been divided up and multiplied. Districts like Vallecas which used to be one parish containing 80,000 people are now made into six, each served by secular or religious priests.

The methods of the apostolate in these places are not different from the traditional methods. The priest is well received everywhere, especially if he is charitable. Works of mercy have been generous: "feeding the hungry" by the creation of parochial refectories; "visiting the sick" in these very poor areas. The bishop of Madrid in his pastoral letter of 1949 said: "25 dispensaries have been started; some could serve as models. 107.212 sick have passed through them; 160 doctors and 220 infirmarians have given 753.309 treatments." Medicines are often supplied by the parishes in the centre of the town who sponsor the dispensaries, or by groups colleges run by religious.

"Instructing the ignorant." The priests are attentive to the education of the children and young people in the suburbs; they have started parochial schools for this purpose and are helped by the "Patronato de suburbios" made up of competent masters.

The Catholic Action for the young and the sodalities have done a wonderful catechetical work. For instance, at Barcelona the sodalists have taken charge of 10 or 12 centres in the most distant suburbs. On Sundays they get more than 2.000 children whom they instruct, with perseverance and kindness, in the truths of the Catholic faith.

Owing to the multiplication of parishes, great progress has been made. The new parishes in Madrid, for instance, which at first hardly contained a hundred practising Catholics, went up to 1.000, 2.000, 3.000 in 1950. So the problem was not lack of Catholics; but negligence, apathy, preoccupation with material things held swav. 23

Today a very good work is being done in the workingclass districts of the cities and industrial areas. Closed retreats are organ-

23 Fr. DEL VALLE, S. J., La corona de espinas de Madrid, in Razon y Fé, Feb.

1949, p. 119.

²² See Sombras de una grand ciudad; Barcelona 1950 by Fr. DEL VALLE, S. J., in Razon y Fé, February 1950, pp. 136-160. Problemas economico-sociales de una ciudad moderna; Vigo by Fr. DEL VALLE, S. J., Ibid., February 1951.

ised specially for them. The "Apostolado Social Católico" of the Asturias is especially to be noted for its magnificent organisation and the results obtained. It is directed by Fr. Feliz, S. J. At the end of 1950, 20.300 workingclass retreatants had already been to the Retreat House, built near the sanctuary of the Virgin of Covadonga, patroness of the Asturias. About 40 factories belong to the "Retreat Movement" and allow their employees to attend, and paying towards the expenses. Many do not deduct from their wages for the time spent thus. From 1939 to 1951 about 400 engineers and clerks attended.

On a smaller scale, there is a similar organisation at Vigo (8.000 retreatants), at Santander (12.000). Catalonia, without making use of such specialised methods, can count 26.850 workmen amongst the 38.360 persons who have made a "closed retreat" since the Spanish Civil War. In factories as RENFE, 18.000 employees have

followed the Exercises in private.

The workmen retreatants have a monthly paper "Siembra"

with a large circulation.

People's missions are another form of apostolate amongst the working classes. They are given in the crowded cities or industrial towns. Thus, at Barcelona during the mission of February 1951, the missionaries did not simply preach in the churches; they went into the workshops to tell the workmen the truths of religion in their own language. In the great theatre Price 7.000 employees came in the evening and listened to two missionaries. Similar missions have been given at Vigo, Reinosa, Ferrol, Bejar... all of which shows that the Spanish worker is not entirely dechristianised, but is negligent through laziness or under the influence of the surrounding materialism.

Another form of apostolate is lectures on apologetics in the factories by the ASI — (Apostolado Social de la Industria) or the Apostolado en las fabricas. The members of the latter spoke to

27.832 workers during 1949-50.

The Frente de Juventudes (Youth Front) is concerned with physical culture and holidays at the seaside or in the mountains, but the chaplain is able to do excellent work in the camps. Occasions such as these often enable the priest to contact youths from marxist families.

The HOAC (Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica) is spreading energetically amongst the working classes. It numbers 10.000 active members, publishes a weekly with a large circulation: "Tu" and a Leaders' Bulletin.

HI. SPECIAL STUDIES

I. The movements of vocations.

Professor S. Aznar has just published a book ²⁴ in which he analyses for the period 1930 to 1947 the proportion of seminarists to the population and the number of parishes, the causes of the fall from 1930 to 1934, the magnificent movement of vocations which the Church in Spain has had since the end of the civil war; a last chapter deals with the origin of the seminarists according to professional classes and the social rank of their families.

A. Statistics. - The author treats the matter according to the ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses, therefore on a geographical basis; the work is furnished with statistical tables, diagrams and a map. The north-western provinces were the richest in 1947: S. Iagodi-Compostella: 0,70 °/00, Valladolid: 0,86 °/00, Burgos: 1,09 °/00, Saragossa: 1,25 °/00, those of the East, Centre and South, poorer: Tarragona: 0,51 º/00, Valencia: 0,47 º/00, Toledo and Ciudad-Real: 0,50 °/00 and 0,43 °/00, Grenada: 0,44 °/00 and finally Seville: 0,28 °/00.25 The increase of 1947 over 1930 is however divided very differently: greatest in the South and at Burgos, Seville: 36.5 %, Grenada: 65.5 %, Ciudad-Real: 95 %, Toledo: 37.6 % and Burgos: 41 %. Lower elsewhere: S. Iago di Compostella: 27.2 %, Valladolid: 10 %, Saragossa: 11 %, Tarragona: 14.7 %, Valencia: 7.9 %. 26 This means that the more fortunate regions today are not as a rule those whose increase has been the most marked; often they are the dioceses in which the persecution during the revolution was the most violent.

Few dioceses have suffered as much as that of Jaén, where the bishop and a large number of priests were murdered. There were then 42 seminarists, now there are 216. The diocese of Ciudad-Real was in the hands of the Reds all through the war: the number of seminarists was 116 in 1930 and fell to 60 in 1934 to rise again to 226 in 1947. Its suffering was explained by the loss of numerous seminarists, but the reaction has been splendid: they are today twice as many as in 1930 (p. 147).

The diocese of Oviedo, where many atrocities occurred, can in 1947 claim

²⁴ S. Aznar, La revolucion española y las vocaciones eclesiasticas, in Revista Internacional de Sociologia, 6 (1948), pp. 39-76. It is part of a book on the same subject which will be published by the Instituto de Estudios Politicos (Madrid).

²⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 46-48. The most striking case is that of the diocese of Jaén.

more seminarists than the archdiocese of Santiago: 516 in 1930, 248 in 1934, 542 in 1947. Oviedo had 357 in 1930, 180 in 1934, 609 in 1947.

The total figure which was 12.831 in 1930, fell to 7.401 in 1934 and increased to 16.317 in 1947. The dioceses least fruitful in vocations are Seville and Barcelona, with a workingclass majority, rural or city and living in small towns or cities: "The concentration of the population, like that of property, is a social nitrogen (sic), "it is not only injurious to the flowering of vocations, it must be "paid for with the sacred coin of faith." The attitude of workers in the coalmining area of Asturia, in Biscaya in the steel industry, at Barcelona for weaving, in Andalusia, Estremadura and Mancha owing to the monopoly of landowners 28 are very like that of industrial workers in other countries. The state of the agricultural workers in the Centre is like that of the braccianti of Italy.

B. The fall in the period 1930 to 1934. — In sociology, the author cannot leave without some explanation the problem of the falling-off in vocations between 1930 and 1934. ²⁹ He believes that the Revolution is not alone in bearing the responsibility. Before 1930 the seminarists were slowly declining in numbers. There were three causes for this; the poverty of the clergy, the greater economic possibilities in the different professions, the diminution of the faith in families, above all in the working classes.

It is obvious however that the evil was tragically augmented in the four years under review, owing to the violence of the revolutionaries, and to the lack of resistance among the seminarists or the threatened families. The first cause was *external*, the second *internal*; the psychology of the deserters or their families.

Certainly these two factors were at work; always the influence of the external being less than the other. Can one say that in the churchprovinces of Valladolid and Santiago where desertions were numerous, the revolution was more violent than in Andalusia or Catalonia? If the revolution factor had been the only one to influence the seminarists, one would have seen the seminaries in the last two places depopulated and only a few students leaving the tranquil regions of Castile and Galicia. Now, the contrary was the case.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 68-70.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 73-74.

²⁹ Op. cit., pp. 44 et seq.

The chief explanation lies then in the reactionary elements affecting the seminarists and their families. To put the responsibility of this on to the bishops or rectors of the seminaries would be to say that only the Andalusian and Catalan bishops are careful

to strengthen the vocations of their young men!

We must remark besides, to be exact, that this diminution in vocations is in direct ratio to the number of *rural ones*. The more numerous are the rural elements in the seminary, the greater is the output. Agriculture once gave 61.15% of the vocations; now the figure is 52.59%. But the almost entirely rural dioceses gave 69.70 and even 76% to the seminaries; and these are now like cages without birds. This fact may partly be caused by self-interest, but there is also another reason which is an extenuating circumstance: the pressure of the social milieu on an individual is in inverse ratio to the "volume" of the milieu. A village sustains a young man's virtue more than a large community; a seminarist and his family are more at the mercy of revolutionarists' threats there than in a town.

C. The share of the working classes. — The working class is more numerous than all the others together; for its children the priesthood represents, even from a human point of view, a social rise. It would seem then that it must provide more than half the ecclesiastical vocations; in reality its share was only 22.47 % in 1947.

The vocations from the *rural working class* are clearly fewer than those from the landowners and farmers. This social class constitutes an extremely rich source of vocations, but it remains unexploited for this higher spiritual object. In 1934, 66 % of the seminarists came from the rural working class families; in 1947 they are no more than 9.86 %. The rural labourer has gone further from the Church than in the revolutionary days.

Among the *industrial workers*, ecclesiastical vocations have increased, for, not only are they more numerous, but they have received a better education both culturally and religiously.

To end, we must recall that vocations are usually in need of the fertile soil of a pious family truly attached to the Church. It is above all the mother who trains the children for society and the priesthood by transmitting to them the best of their social and Christian heritage. 2. The effect of the milieu on the morality of youth.

The influence of the milieu on the moral development of young people is shown by the statistics of vocations to the priesthood or religious life. It also appears from studies of moral delinquency. The tribunals dealing with minors have found out by their psychological and sociological investigations what is the noxious effect of the milieux. 30

A. Errors of judgement in moral matters. — This is nothing but a wrong understanding of law. The child does not know what his duties are; he performs punishable acts thinking them either good or indifferent, while in other respects he has an exact knowledge of what he ought to do.

To find out about these failings in moral judgement, we have made enquiries by means of the available methods:

a) as to the child's speculative knowledge,

b) his conduct.

c) his behaviour at home and his personality.

The conclusion arrived at is that the causes of the deficiencies are chiefly to be found in the milieu. This exerts its influence either by lack of proper training at the time when the child's conscience is developing, or by distortion through his being led astray from the path on which a good education and example started him. There is no correlation between speculative knowledge and moral conscience, but much between moral conscience, education and example; for moral deficiency does not come from mental incapacity, but from a lack of concrete and practical knowledge.

The influence of the milieu, above all of the family, which is today going through a crisis fatal to the moral conscience, is patent in this habitually bad moral disposition. Statistics on juvenile delinquency show its incidence on the acts themselves.

B. Juvenile delinquency. - Since 1942 the tribunals for juvenile offenders have not been content to make dossiers and pronounce

³⁰ This paper has been sent us by M. José J. Piquer y Jover, editor of Pro Infancia y Juventud, monthly publication of the Provincial Junta for the Protection of Minors in Barcelona. We are most grateful to him. The reader will find further information in the books and articles of the eminent psychologist: El niño abandonado y delincuente (Madrid, 1946), Los factores influyentes en la delincuencia juvenil (Barcelona, 1950). See also the memorandum presented to the Junta (1950) and the article Las fallas de juicio moral en el niño in the Boletín de Actividades of the Junta (nº 8) (Editor's note).

judgements: henceforward cases are submitted to a social enquiry

and a psychological examination.

The social enquiry is made concerning the individual and family antecedents, the physical and moral conditions of the home and surroundings; these give a complete history of the case. The psychological examination defines the morphological, blood and character type, a psychiatric diagnosis, systematic observation, collation of the original works the child has performed, interrogation and use of pedagogic, psychological and psychotechnical tests.

"Tutelary tribunals" have made 50.648 dossiers of minors' delinquencies in the years 1942-47; they have pronounced 41.130 judgements, light and grave. Out of these, 16.819 have been sent to the "Faculty for correction" to be interned or kept under preventive control. Out of these last, 10.334 have been the subject of social enquiry and 8.073 of a thorough psychological examination.

These enquiries have resulted in the following conclusions: There is ground for belief that personal behaviour is more influenced by environment than by heredity;

The 'milieu' factor chiefly consists of the family and companionship.

The family. — The matrimonial position of the parents and their economic situation must be considered.

The social enquiries into the causes of the delinquency of 10.334 children have established that from the moral and economic point of view, 2.440 families are satisfactory; 4.818 deficient; 2.529 harmful, and that 547 children have no families.

As regards the deficient families, the incompleteness of the family (through death, illness, separation or illegitimacy) is the principal cause (57,40 %); the absence of economic and educative means accounts for 45,55 %. By adding the 'harmful' families, one can say that out of the 10.334 delinquent minors examined, 76,38 % have an abnormal home.

The economic position of the family has not the same significance today as used to be attributed to it: our figures give us 2.558 cases, which is only 24,75% of the total number enquired into.

The social milieu. — The influence of this is proportionate to the absence of or harmful influence of the family. One or more of the following factors enter into it: lack of schooling, influence

of the place of work or the quarter in which they live, reading, companions, or the cinema.

a. Lack of schooling. - Education exercises a preventive action. Certainly, many delinquents have been to school, but even then much of their behaviour is due to a deficiency in instruction or to non-attendance.

This is the result of the investigations carried out among the 16,819 children remanded to the "Faculty of correction" by the Spanish tribunals between 1942 and 1947:

Children insufficiently educated	5,337 (31.73%)
having received no education	2,838 (16.87%)
irregular in their attendance	4,234 (25.17%)
habitually playing truant	2,227 (13.24%)
having never been to school	1,617 (9.68%)

b. Other social factors. — After the school, the influence of bad companions is the worst. Statistics have been made out as to delinquencies in gangs (See Scibert, Die Jugendkriminalität, Munich, 1932 and 1935). Next, in order of importance, come the cinema, district, reading and work.

Here are the reports as to the five last classes expressed in figures (on 20.068 cases submitted):

Out of the 16,819 children questioned we found:

7,199	cases	influ	ienced	by	the	company	they	kept	42,80%
5,443		>>	>>			cinema			32.36%
4,834		>>))			district			28.74%
1,618))))			reading n	nattei	î.	9.62%
974		>>))			work			5.78%

Conclusion: An efficient prophylactic against juvenile delinquency must reach above all their moral education, and tend to remedy and strengthen family relations and the atmosphere of their lives.

That there is a desire for more scientific data on these subjects is found not only in such works as those quoted, but also elsewhere. Thus in an editorial of the Ilustracion del Clero (1948) 31 we are invited to consider how great is the number of souls in Spain who do not hear the Word of God except from afar and distorted, to think of "parishes of ten, fifteen thousand souls and more out of which the church can only hold five or six hundred... of the parishes in the suburbs and industrial zones or agricultural districts. How many people live all their lives without the supernatural nourishment of (religious) instruction, if one considers at how many Masses there is a sermon and the capacity of places of wor-

³¹ Apostolado v Teologia, in Ilustracion del Clero (Madrid), 41 (1948), pp. 421-425.

ship? "And Fr. de Leturia (1948, 1950) at the end of a survey of the apostasy of the masses throughout history, 32 asks with urgency that enquiries should be carried out analogous to those proposed and achieved by Professor G. Le Bras, showing the value, both scientific and practical, of such studies. One can only most fervently pray that such desires shall be realised.

³º Fr. DE LETURIA, S. J., La apostasia de las masas a través de la Historia, in the Revista española de Teologia (Madrid), 10 (1950), pp. 30-40, etc. Conference given at the 8th Theological Week in Spain at Madrid on the 17th September 1948.

Religious Sociology in Canada

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INTRODUCTION : PLACE GIVEN TO RESEARCH IN RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY

If one were to keep strictly to our terms of reference, viz. What is the *actual* state of research in religious sociology in Canada, the answer would be a laconic one. In Canada there are very few strictly sociological studies becoming on any particular aspect of the fascinating and fundamental domain of religious behaviour

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Monograph on the Hurons of Lorette, a study presented for the baccalaureat in Social Sciences, School of Social Sciences, Quebec 1939, Prix Raymond Casgrain December 1940. - The Parishes of France and New-France in the XVII Century, in Cahiers de l'École des Sciences Sociales, Laval University, vol. 2, October 1943. -Problems and First Experiments of Social Research in Quebec, in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. X, no 3, August 1944, pp. 365-71. - Évolution et Métabolisme contemporain de la ville de Québec, in Culture, vol. V, 1944, pp. 121-131. — Analyse sociale des communautés rurales, in Cahiers de a Faculté des Sciences sociales, Laval University, vol. 3, nº 4, July 1944. — Stratifications sociales, in the Revue dominicaine, Montréal, March 1945, pp. 272-279. -- Stratifications sociales de notre milieu, in Mém. Soc. Roy. Can., section I, pp. 65-71. - Survey de la ville de Québec-Ouest, Faculty of Social Sciences, Quebec, May 1947. - Survey de la paroisse de Notre-Dame-de-Pitié, Faculty of Social Sciences, Quebec, Laval University, May 1948. — Orientations nouvelles des familles canadiennes-françaises, Quebec, May 1949. - The Parish as an Institutional Type, in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. XV, no 3, August 1949, pp. 353-367. - Qu'est-ce que la sociologie? in Culture, X (1949), pp. 250-261. Analyse des communautés rurales, in La Revue de l'Université Laval, vol. IV, nº 3, Nov. 1949, pp. 210-217.

or religious institutions. This fact, not peculiar to our country, is to be explained by the religious conditions of Canadian life, the status and present trend of sociology as a social science in Canada, and finally, to the intellectual orientation of university men and intellectuals.

It may be well to recall in the first place, that Canada, although not so heterogenous as its big neighbour to the south, is a complex country. Federalist politically and pluralist culturally, it is demographically contained in a narrow band of 300 kms wide from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The particularisms which have been accentuated historically by the division of the country into ten juridically distinct provinces is superimposed on the mosaic of numerous ethnical and religious groups. The most recent of these groups which have immigrated to Canada, each with its own religion, have come from Central Europe or from the British Isles between the beginning of this century and the first World-War; others have been established since the middle of the XIX century and are chiefly of Irish, Scottish or English origin; others concentrated in the maritime provinces of the East and now merged in the Canadian people, are descendants of American loyalists, so called because they refused to be disassociated from the British rule at the time of the American Revolution. However, the great Canadian dichotomy is that which distinguishes the Frenchspeaking Canadians, descendants of the pioneers of the country and the majority of whom are Catholics, from the English-speaking, usually adhering to one or the other of the Protestant religions. According to the latest national census in 1941, out of 11 million of Canadian nationals, 43% were Catholic, and 50% were shared among the Protestant churches (United Church of Canada, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran). Now, out of the total Catholic population (4,986,552) nearly 60% were concentrated in the one Province of Quebec. More than four-fifths (86%) of the population of this province of 3,331,882 inhabitants were Catholic, while 80% spoke French. It is essential to remember that it is this province of Quebec which, for all practical purposes, constitutes what for a long time has been called French Canada. This French and predominantly Catholic Canada represents the most obvious cultural and religious unit in the midst of the socially heterogenous Canadian nation. It is not surprising that the greatest number of religious studies and researches have been carried out on this homogenous group, firmly held together by the framework and institutions of the Catholic Church, and whose religious behaviour is marked by a profoundly traditional character, while, on the contrary, few have carried out observations

in the remainder of English-speaking and Protestant Canada. The extreme diversity amongst the religious denominations and ethnic groups and the sects, the complexity of their contacts and their intermingling as well as the fluidity of their structure and the vagueness of the "spiritual" doctrine of the greater number, seem to have deterred enquirers.

It must also be remarked that the teaching of sociology is of relatively recent date in Canada, although it is now firmly and definitely established at least in the chief universities. Here also, distinction must be made between the more numerous Englishspeaking universities and the three French-speaking ones of Ottawa, Montreal and Quebec (Laval). Two of the principal English Canadian universities, McGill at Montreal and that of Toronto, have for about twenty-five years been giving a systematic training in sociology, either in a special department (McGill) or as part of a more general department dealing with the other social sciences (Department of Political Economy at Toronto). Sociology began to be taught as a special subject in five or six other universities of English Canada at later dates and on varying lines. In each of these universities, generally speaking, there has always been at least one professor whose main interest was sociology and who was able to guide some of his pupils in the necessary researches. In the three French-Canadian universities, sociology has usually been treated in the Theological and Philosophical Faculties, or to speak more exactly, it has been social philosophy, exclusively theoretical. Since 1920 the university of Montreal has possessed a Faculty of Social Sciences where, until latterly, the courses have only been evening ones, and in which the teaching was mainly directed to the juridical, economic and administrative sciences. Such was the case, also with slight differences, in the university of Ottawa, A Faculty of Social Sciences with a regular curriculum of four years leading to a master's diploma (or licence) has been in existence since 1938 at Laval University; this Faculty is made up of four departments, one for sociology, and also contains a centre for social research in which the various specialist professors collaborate. It has been in this institution that in French-speaking Canada the teaching of sociology considered as a specific intellectual discipline has been worked out for some years; its startingpoint and its aim are social philosophy, but implies a well defined object and also its own analytic and explanatory method, and mainly directed towards human reality.2

² Cf. Jean-C. FALARDEAU, Qu'est-ce que la Sociologie? in Culture, vol. X, 1949, pp. 250-61.

Finally, we may recall that the few genuine Canadian sociologists (I am now only speaking of the English Canadian university world) have been exclusively inspired in their teaching and studies by the currents of thought in the American universities at which at some time in their studies they have all taken a course. So, we must remember the dominant traits of American sociology before we can understand what is done, and above all, what is not done, in Canada. American sociology which, for nearly half a century, has launched itself impetuously into all kinds of research, has nevertheless omitted to interest itself with an equal curiosity in certain aspects or sectors which are fundamental to the life of society: religious behaviour, the structure and types of organisation of the groups with religious aims and functions, the importance of dogmas and beliefs in the process of integration of groups, etc. Cultural anthropologists have analysed the religious institutions of the primitive peoples; a few sociologists have observed the avatars of urban churches undergoing the pressure of demographic movements and social mobility; others have described the history of the various evangelising sects; others again, including several Catholic scholars, have traced the broad currents of thought which have influenced the principal styles of American religious belief. 3

But these studies are but a small fraction of the sociological output. A critical observer, Edward Shils, attributes this lacuna to the general deficiency of American sociologists on the philosophical plane and also to their lack of religious "sense." ⁴ Taking everything into account, monographs on the sects represent the essential body of religious sociological literature, and nearly all derive their interest from the Weberian hypothesis that it is the underprivileged or frustrated groups which give themselves to erratic religions. Similarly, the few religious sociological studies made in Canada have been lacking in a comprehensive methodology; they have only considered questions of limited interest, and usually only with regard to religious groups of limited activity. We will later on indicate how very differentis the outlook of those Catholic Canadian sociologists who have undertaken the study of religious phenomena.

⁴ Edward Shills, The present state of American Sociology, Glencoe, The Free Press, 1948, pp. 33-34.

³ Joachim Wach, La Sociologie de la religion, La sociologie religieuse aux États-Unis, in Gurvitch and Moore, La Sociologie au XX^e siècle, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1947, tome I, pp. 423-424.

In the light of these remarks, we will give in broad outline the extent of religious investigation in Canada. 5 To make the list more complete, we shall give a summary of older work which will help to see contemporary works in their historical context. We will also mention various demographic and historical works which, though not specifically sociological, do give material closely allied to the problems which interest the sociologist of religion. Finally, we believe that it will be of interest to treat separately the studies dealing with non-Catholic English Canada and those on Catholic French Canada, although in some cases the borderline between these works is not easy to establish.

I. STUDIES DEALING WITH ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADA

Canadian anthropologists who have incidentally studied the beliefs, myths or religious organisation of the surviving tribes, have had some influence on a few contemporary sociologists. Among the more outstanding are the works of Marius Barbeau, 6 Diamond Jenness 7 and T.F. Mc Ilwraith. 8 In Canada as in the States, several sociologists have made a study of the social upheavals which have resulted from the growth of urban agglomerations. Studies have been made of ethnic groups concentrated in large towns and for two or three generations, choosing a particular quarter which they consider as their own and establishing certain of their institutions which enable them to perpetuate

⁵ Our inventory must necessarily remain general and in some ways unsatisfactory. To give a faithful picture of contemporary research in Canada, enquiries would have had to be made in all the universities, in certain institutions, in social research centres, not to mention the individuals who have broached this subject. The short time at our disposal unfortunately made it impossible to undertake this.

⁶ Marius Barbeau, Supernatural Beings of the Huron and Wyandot, American Anthropologist, vol. XVI, no. 2, April-June 1914, pp. 288-313; Huron and Wyandot Mythology, Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 80, Anthropological Series, no. 11, 1916; Totemism, a Modern Growth on the North Pacific Coast, Journal of American Folk-lore, vol. LVII, no ccxxIII.

⁷ The Indians of Canada, second edition, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin

^{65,} Anthropological Series, no. 15, 1934.

⁸ The Bella Coola Indians, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1948, 2 vols. Those interested in ethnological and anthropological studies on Canada will find a complete list in the bibliographies which are published each year for the last twenty-five years by Professor Mc Ilwraith of Toronto in the Canadian Historical Review, under the heading "Annual List of Publications on Ethnology, Anthropology and Archaeology."

for some time their customs, traditions and forms of life. In time these groups are invaded by others or become absorbed into the rest of urban society. Their most cherished institutions, including their churches and their beliefs, often alter or disappear. Two professors of McGill University have made a special study of this problem: Eva Young, who studied the behaviour of recent immigrants to Montreal, 9 and Aileen Ross who examined the typical characteristics of the institutional changes effected when a Catholic population speaking French invaded a rural territory hitherto occupied by English-speaking Protestants and gradually dispossessed them of their territory. 10 We should also quote several monographs dealing with the adaptation of other groups which have immigrated to Canada at other times and in other regions. Apart the fact that these studies only touch very indirectly on the subject we have in hand, we have not at the moment of writing the necessary bibliography for looking up all recent works which have enriched Canadian religious sociological literature. We refer the reader to a Bibliographie complète des thèses en Sciences sociales et dans les Humanités, présentées dans les universités canadiennes de 1921 à 1946, published during this winter by the new Centre Bibliographique National of the Archives Nationales at Ottawa.

It is the historical works of the English Canadians which come nearest to religious sociology. The most notable of these was published two years ago by Professor S. D. Clark of Toronto dealing with the churches and protestant sects of Canada. 11 Clark, who is in the Weber tradition as well as that of the North American economic historians, has chiefly studied the principal stages of the colonising expansion inside Canada in the course of history. More

11 S. D. CLARK, Church and Sect in Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press,

1948.

⁹ Eva R. Young, Population Movements and the Assimilation of Alien Groups in Montreal, in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. X, no. 3, August 1944, pp. 372-380. Some students' theses of McGill University have also considered similar problems. Cf. in particular: Chas. M. BAYLEY, The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-37; Albert Moellmann, Occupational and Social Adjustment of German Immigrants in Canada, 1934; Stephen W. Mamchur, The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada, with special reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal,

¹⁰ Aileen D. Ross, The Cultural Effects of Population Changes in the Eastern Townships, in Can. J. of Econ. Pol. Sc., vol. 9, no. 4, Nov. 1943, pp. 447-462. The same author has just presented a doctorate thesis to Chicago University which describes exhaustively all the modalities of this phenomenon of social succession.

precisely, he has observed the behaviour of the pioneer groups, immigrants or dissidents from the frontier regions. This study led him to make observations in these regions in course of being civilised, the process by which the spontaneous forms of religious expression gradually acquire their own institutional character, implying constitution, stability and tradition, or else they end by being reabsorbed into pre-existing ecclesiastical structures. Clark's works have been a well documented contribution to the history of the evolution of the religious communities and protestant churches in North America during the last three centuries. It is surprising that this sociologist historian has had so few disciples. In Canada there has existed for ten years a national independent organisation to foster and help research work in all the social sciences: this is the Conseil canadien de recherche en sciences sociales, the chief activities of which have been the undertaking of collective large scale enquiries and providing subsidies to social enquirers. It is remarkable that out of over a hundred individual schemes of research which the Council has partially subsidised and out of over forty books it has helped financially to publish, only three books dealt with a subject of religious sociology or history; a survey entitled A Study of the Work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Maritime Region, by Miss K. F. McNaughton: another, Catholic Opinion with Regard to Conjederation, by F. J. Wilson of Queen's University; and finally a book on The Clapham Sect, by E. M. House. 12 One of the collective enquiries set on foot by the Council itself was "Social Credit," a political party started in the crisis of 1930 in Western Canada which, since 1935, has directed the destinies of the provincial government of Alberta. The political philosophy and special programme of this party has been studied, the influence which it has had on the economic life and the mentality of Alberta province, the constitutional repercussions of its autonomy, etc. One of the monographs of the scheme which bears the name of Sect and Cult in Alberta (W. E. Mann, of Toronto University) will be devoted especially to the analysis of the missionary origins of this party under the effect of the play and counterplay of the multiple "religions" of the frontier regions of Western Canada.

A Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église was founded in 1933 with an English and a French section. It has held annual public sessions and it is in its reports that are to be found the rare studies, usually of an historical nature, treating of the religious life of the

¹² University of Toronto Press, 1950.

border group which is constituted by the English-speaking Catholics - the majority of them being of Irish origin. Also, the bilingual review Culture, directed by the Franciscans of Quebec and specialising in the "religious and profane sciences" has published in the last ten years a certain number of essays by English Canadian Catholics: but most of them have been either meditations of a theological or philosophical nature, or else polemical such as those by C. S. Eustace ¹³, Robert Keyserling ¹⁴ and M. G. Ballantyne. ¹⁵ In a country where 'English' is generally synonymous with 'Protestant' and 'French' with 'Catholic, 'the English-speaking Canadian Catholic is a divided being. Language separates him from his French brethren in the Faith and his religion prevents entire union with his English-speaking compatriots, with whom he is closely associated in all other spheres of life. What future sociologist will describe his psychology and examine the problems that arise?

II. STUDY OF FRENCH CATHOLIC CANADA

If the studies of the religious life of the English milieux are chiefly taken up with behaviour, those of the French milieu, which is also Catholic, have been chiefly concerned with the structure and institutional aspects of collective organised religion. The French Canadians have their own civilisation, brought from France by the pioneers of the XVII century and preserved, in spite of the pressure and invasions from the rest of the English-speaking Protestant North American continent. ¹⁶ This civilisation is indissolubly linked with the Catholic religion. The French colonisation of North America was the work of the religious orders and priests who founded the first establishments in the institutional framework of the Church, and particularly that of the parish. It is adhesion to the Catholic Faith, and more precisely to that Faith as expressed by the jansenists of the XVII century, which is still the chief source of the mentality of French Canadians, and it is the parish which

¹³ C. S. Eustace, The Role of Religion in Canadian Life, in Culture, vol. VI, no. 2, June 1945, pp. 147-157; The Future of Religion in the Secular or Neutral Society, in Culture, vol. VII, no. 4, Dec. 1946, pp. 421-428.

¹⁴ Robert W. KEYSERLING, Contemporary Problem of Religion, in Culture, vol. IX, no. 2, June 1948, pp. 124-131.

¹⁶ M. G. BALLANTYNE, Theology and the Man in the Street, in Culture, vol. X, no. 4, Dec. 1949, pp. 392-397.

¹⁶ Pierre DE BIE, Le fait canadien-français, in Bulletin de Recherches Économiques et Sociales de l'Université de Louvain, XIII, no. 7, June 1948, pp. 695-741.

has been, historically speaking, the essential element of integration in their social life. In fact, the history of French Canada mingles with the history of the Church in French Canada and the history of French Canadian colonisation is practically that of the history of the foundation of parishes. Without dwelling upon the studies which have explored this past, it is important to mention the principal ones, for they show an intellectual orientation which still prevails and which must be taken into account in order to understand many modern works.

The great works of the ecclesiastical history of French Canada are well known: they are those of the Abbé Auguste Gosselin 17 and of M. Gustave Lanctôt. 18 Nearer to our own day, the French section of the Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église has inspired good essays which are too often content with but slight incursions into particular problems. 19 To these studies in general history must be added the attractive monographs on the early Canadian parishes, 20 and, closer to us, the synthetical works of a religious and sociologist who has reconstructed the juridical transformations of the parish as an institution. 21 The monographs on the French Canadian parishes are very numerous; 22 their total reaches four hundred, but very few of them go beyond simple narrative. Generally speaking, it is among the studies of a lyrical or apologetic character that the search must be made for a description of the functions of protection and conservation of the parish in the

¹⁷ Abbé Auguste Gosselin, L'Église du Canada depuis Mgr de Laval jusqu'à la conquête, Québec, Laflamme et Proulx, 1911-14, 3 vols; L'Eglise du Canada après la conquête, 1775-1789, Québec, Laflamme, 1917.

¹⁸ Gustave Lanctôt, Situation politique de l'Église canadienne : Servitude de l'Église sous le régime français, Montréal, G. Ducharme, 1942.

¹⁹ Cf. in particular: Jean François Pouliot, La liberté des cultes au Canada (Rapport 1933-4); Victor Morin, Les ordres de chevalerie religieuse au Canada (Rapport 1938-9); Abbé Lionel Groulx, Le conflit religieux au lendemain de 1760 (Rapport 1939-40); La situation religieuse au Canada français vers 1840 (Rapport 1941-42); Léon Mercier Gouin, L'avenir spirituel du peuple canadien-français (Rapport 1943-44).

²⁰ See Abbé Henri-R. CASGRAIN, Une paroisse canadienne au XVII^e siècle, Québec, L. Brousseau, 1880; J. Edmond Roy, Histoire de la seigneurie de Lauzon, Levis, 1887-1904, 5 vols.

²¹ R. P. Gonzalve Poulin, O. F. M., L'Évolution historico-juridique de l'institution paroissiale au Canada français, in Nos Cahiers, Montréal, Studium franciscain, vol. I, 1936, vol. II, 1937.

²² A complete list will be found in the *Bibliographie des Monographies et Histoires* de paroisses, d'Antoine Roy: Rapport de l'Archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1937-38, Québec, R. Paradis, 1938, pp. 254-364.

old days. 23 There is much more solid matter but with less sociological interest in the dissertations of political philosophy on the relations between Church and State, 24 or in the treatises on civil and canon law which deal with parochial legislation. 25 Exception must be made for a recent school of civilians who have attempted to put forward premises in order to understand better in a juridical sense the structure of the parish by taking social conditions into account, both past and present, which have determined its status and its responsibilities. 26 It is in fact the ethnographists and folklorists who, through their careful and fascinating narratives of the traditions and popular customs, bring us most close to the real Canadian religion. The foundation of an Institute of Folklore at Laval University in Quebec in 1945 has marked a renewal of interest in this research. A team of enthusiastic students influenced by the late Marius Barbeau have undertaken to discover the multiple aspects of spontaneous behaviour of rural populations which have not yet been seriously affected by contact with city "progress" and modern industry and who, therefore, manifest some of the fundamental signs of French Canadian civilisation. The director of the Institute, M. Luc Lacourcière, has studied especially the customs of the "syndic of souls" at L'Ile-aux-Coudres 27 and one of his pupils has just published a voluminous monograph of folklore in which she has described with a wealth of detail the habits and religious practices of the villagers of a locality near Quebec which is still traditionalist. 28

The fact that the parish has traditionally been the principal unit of social organisation for the French Canadians is shown in

²³ PIERRE G. Roy, La paroisse et l'habitant canadien sous le régime français, in Catholic Historical Review, vol. XVIIII, Jan. 1933, no. 4, pp. 472-491.

M. A. LAMARCHE, O. P., La paroisse, gardienne de la vie sociale, La paroisse, gardienne de la vie agricole, Études et Discours, Montréal, A. Menard, 1929.

²⁴ Mgr L. A. Paquet, L'organisation religieuse et le pouvoir civil, Droit Public de l'Église, 2º éd., Québec, Laflamme, 1920, vol. II.

²⁵ J. U. Beaudry, Code des curés, marguilliers et paroissiens, Montréal, Presses de la Minerve, 1870; P. B. Mignault, Le Droit paroissial, Montréal, C. O. Beauchemin et Fils, 1893.

²⁶ Michel-G. Giroux, in La situation juridique de l'Église catholique dans la province de Québec, in Revue du Notariat, Oct.-Nov. 1945; L. P. Pigeon, Législation civile des paroisses, in Revue du Barreau, février 1949.

²⁷ See also, by the same author, Les études de folklore français au Canada, in Culture, vol. VI, 1945, no. 1, pp. 1-9; La langue et le folklore, in Canada français, vol. XXXIII, no. 7, March 1946.

²⁸ Sr. Marie-Ursule, La civilisation traditionnelle des Lavalois, in Archives de Folklore of Laval University, nos. 5, 6, Québec, Les Presses Universitaires, 1951.

two really sociological works which we owe, one to a local observer, Léon Gérin, and the other to an American anthropologist, Horace Miner. Gérin, who was the real pioneer of sociology in Canada, knew in Paris, round about 1885, the École de la Science Sociale of Le Play, Tourville et Demolins, and tried to apply the monographic method of his masters to the parishes of Quebec. Although the main object of his study was the rural family, he was necessarily drawn to consider it in its relations with the local community and has produced the most serious and conscientious analysis which we possess of the traditional French Canadian village. 29 Gérin describes the life of the rural neighbourhood, its geographical factors, the intimate relationships of adjacent families and their complete integration in the parish. The curé, spiritual head of the flock, is also the chief authority in their temporal affairs. Even more than in the villages of the Ancien Régime in France, 30 the administrative organs of the parish suffice for all the needs of municipal action. As all the inhabitants are Catholic, the role of citizen is contained in that of parishioner and the most powerful social control is that exercised by the Church or derived from its teachings. Horace Miner, as a cultural anthropologist, has considered the rural French Canadian village rather as he would a primitive society, that is to say as a self-contained whole, in which each element has no significance apart from the whole. His survey 31 explores, besides the organisation and family life described by Gérin, all the aspects of religious and non-religious behaviour of families and individuals at various stages: absolute fidelity to the commandments of the Church, harmony of workdays and holidays with the liturgical year, pious practices, explicit or implicit sanctions which keep activities and opinions within the norms approved by the priest, confusion between certain superstitious habits and religious motives, etc. Miner's monograph has certain wrong interpretations. but it deals objectively with aspects of the religious life which no French Canadian observer has as yet dared to describe.

There is not to be found in French Canada any serious study of the religious customs of either the rural or urban population,

²⁹ Léon Gérin, L'habitant de Saint-Justin, in Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, 2º série, vol. IV, 1898, pp. 139-216.

³⁰ Jean-C. Falardeau, Paroisses de France et de Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle, in Cahiers de la Faculté des Sciences sociales de Laval, Québec, 1943, vol. 2, no. 7.

³¹ Saint-Denis, A French Canadian Parish, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938.

nor of the degree of the real influence of the Church on the opinions and habits of the various social classes. The most recent researches of sociological interest continue to follow the beaten track and stop at the parish. It is to another American sociologist, a shrewd observer of Canadian society, Professor Everett-C. Hughes of the Chicago University, that we owe a renewal of interest in sociological researches in general, and on the parish in particular. Hughes, who has studied the social metabolism of a small industrial town in the south-west of the province of Quebec, has described the structural changes undergone by the parochial entity when the old framework of life is broken down by rapid and intense industrialisation. 32 Certain theses of McGill University inspired by Hughes have noted the even greater changes of the Catholic parishes in an enormous city like Montreal. 33 Thanks to the same author and to the teaching given by him when invited to lecture at Laval University in the Faculty of Social Sciences in 1942 34 the sociologystudents in Ouebec have since been occupied in the scientific study of the chief types of rural parishes to be met with in the various parts of their province. 35 In almost all cases, however, the results have been in the shape of monographs on villages, treated in a general manner, and the social life dealt with from the points of view of geography, demography, and economics, as also in its institutional aspects. The phenomena inherent in the parish as such are often confused, owing to a lack of clearly defined sociological method. Progress has been achieved since the establishment of this Faculty eight years ago in a Centre of Social Studies which has directed these surveys of the parishes in the city of Quebec, 36 and since the Department of Sociology has undertaken the extensive study of a working class parish that one would like to analyse exhaustively under all its aspects of sociological interest.

³² Everett-C. Hughes, French Canada in Transition, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943, translated into French under the title of Rencontre de deux Mondes, Montréal, Parizeau, 1945.

³³ S. G. Garland, *The Church in a Changing City*, thesis for degree in Sociology, McGill University, Montreal, 1929; Pearl J. Lieff, *The Urbanisation of the French-Canadian Parish*, thesis for degree in Sociology, McGill, 1940.

³⁴ Everett-C. Hughes, *Programme de Recherches sociales pour le Québec*, in *Cahiers de la Faculté des Sciences sociales*, Québec, vol. 2, no. 4, 1943.

³⁵ See by way of example, René Croteau, Saint-Antoine-de-Tilly, thesis for the degree in Social Sciences, Faculté des sciences sociales, Université Laval, Québec, 1946.

³⁶ Survey de la paroisse de Notre-Dame-de-Pitié. Manuscript report, Centre des Recherches sociales, Faculté des Sciences sociales, Laval University, document 3, 1948; Survey de la paroisse de Saint-Malo, Ibid., document 4, May 1949.

A very common failing which makes so many studies of Canadian parishes unsatisfactory is the many meanings given to the word " parish." It may mean a territorial unit, a group of the faithful, an ecclesiastical structure or the rural or urban community organisation taken as a whole. While to our mind the idea of a parish, sociologically speaking, must mean an "institution" in the complete sense; an institution forming the ultimate unit of organisation in the Church on a territorial basis. Ideally, the parish should be a miniature Church, its ministers are the direct delegates of the hierarchy and it is through the intermediary of the parish that the Christian comes into contact with his Church, from the moment of his baptism until his death. Now this function which the parish could and can perform in rural societies that are stable and homogeneous is impossible in contemporary societies which are urbanised and "dechristianised." The Church attempts to meet and keep her faithful together by other institutional means - such as Catholic Action - or lets certain of her ministers improvise for themselves adequate methods of efficacious ministry, such as the admirable "priest-workers" in France. In this perspective, the sociological study of the Catholic parish will enable us, at least in French Canada, to clear up several problems: under what social conditions does the parish institution cease to be the principal scheme of local integration for a Catholic society? Which groups and classes are first to be disintegrated in a parish? To what social sanctions are they submitted or are they the object of envy? What shape does their religious behaviour take and to what degree do they remain in communication with the Church as a whole? One could go on enumerating all the sociological questions which the observer of a Catholic society must put to himself if he desires to understand the real dimensions and the real trends

It is to be wished that a greater number of Catholic sociologists in French Canada and Canada as a whole as well as in other countries, will bring to their objective observations and interpretation of the religious problems of their contemporary society the calmness which has characterised the researches of their colleagues in other domains, e. g. in history. Catholic literature of information, propaganda, conquest or battle, is astonishing in its vitality, and it should be so. But, together with this apologetics there is place, indeed need, for scientific works which will interpret for the good of the apostles and ministers themselves, the direction and the destiny

³⁷ Jean-C. Falardeau, The Parish as an Institutional Type, in Can. J. Ec. Pol. Sc., vol. XV, no. 3, August 1949, pp. 353-367.

of those forces of every kind which are at work in our society. In different times and places, sociology has not always had, it must be owned, a good reputation among Churchmen or Catholic philosophers: as Fr. Delos 38 remarked some years ago, there is, however, a place below the social philosophy which serves as guide for sociology, the positive science of social life. Whatever may be the overlapping of the various social sciences with sociology, there are some intellectual undertakings which it alone can embark upon, and explanatory schemes which it alone is able to suggest. If it is faithful to the requirements of its essential method which must consist of structural and functional analyses, it will enable us to understand in a way which none of the other social sciences can, the human individual as he acts as member of a plurality of social groups the complete human individual, that is to say, 'religious' man as well as 'geographical' man, or 'economic' man or any other 'abstract' man which the various social sciences envisage. In this way an inventory of the religious sociological works of the future will present something different from the variegated collection of the present essay.

³⁸ Fr. Jean-T. Delos, O. P., Introduction au précis de sociologie, de Lemonnyer, Troude et Tonneau, Marseille, Éditions Publicoc, 1934.

Religious Sociology in the United States

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INTRODUCTION

From the 27th to the 29th December 1950 there was held at Chicago in one of the buildings of Loyola University the 12th annual convention of the American Catholic Sociological Society (A. C. S. S.). It may appear to Europeans to be an excellent initiation into religious sociology in the United States to have the privilege of participating in the different general meetings and in some of the committees for study. Actually, only one of the plenary sessions was devoted to the sociology of the parish, and in the course of one of the discussions Fr. Fichter, who had just read an excellent paper on "Institutional environment and the parochial life" declared that nothing had as yet been done in the realm of Catholic sociology.

Two subjects of conversation seem, indeed, to be completely forbidden here — politics and religion. True, big discussions and interminable controversies are perpetually published in the various newspapers on these two important questions, but even when seated side by side in train or coach the readers of these journals continue their reading with imperturbable calm without attempting to discuss the opposing points of view. Are the sociologists also subject to this ruling?

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² M. Henri Mendras was born in Paris in 1927. Like the Abbé Jammes, he was a pupil of Professor Le Bras; he is completing his training in the department of sociology in the University of Chicago (Editor's note).

One might well believe it, and E. K. Francis, professor of sociology at Notre Dame gives us one of the sociological reasons: "Though sociology of religion had once been one of the main preoccupations of ethnologists and sociologists, the many fallacies and failures with which their speculations have met seem to have discouraged any further advance along these lines in more recent times." Professor J. Wach has given us another reason from the religious standpoint in "Sociology in the XX century:" if sociology has been suspect to believers, it is because, he opines, it was used "as a weapon of aggression against religion." Thus the aims of the A. C. S. S. formed in 1938 are very modest: "To stimulate concerted study and research among Catholics working in the field of sociology, to create a sense of solidarity among Catholic sociologists, and to unearth and disseminate the social implications of the Catholic thought-pattern." A fine programme perhaps, but there is nothing in it for the sociology of religion. In 1940, in the first numbers of A. C. S. R., it is still general sociology. which is the great problem. The authors of the different articles are Catholics interested in sociology and the possibility of supernatural sociology, and not sociologists interested through their Catholicism. When the A. C. S. S. met for the third time in 1940, the 300 members in the name of the 86 "colleges" which they represented discussed "crime, delinquency, family, rural life, community and racial origins," but did not touch upon the religious problem, and it was to the Congress of the American Sociological Society which met at the same period that Dr. F. Mueller presented an excellent work on "What constitutes a sociology of religion " (A. C. S. R., 1941, p. 147 et seq.).

In fact if, as T. Parsons wrote (51): "the strong tendency had been to minimize the importance of religion, to treat it as a matter of superstition which had no place in the enlightened thinking of modern civilised man;" the situation has long changed, and there are numerous sociologists who have realised the riches offered by the domain of religion and who would endorse what was said by Professor E. C. Hughes 3 when he called the United States a laboratory of the first order for the sociology of religion. The national groups with their different Churches, the endless multiplication of sects, the almost normal transformation of a sect into

³ Once and for all, the authors would like to express their gratitude to all those who have helped them, especially Professors Hughes, Wach and Shils of the University of Chicago; Leiffer and Smith of the North-Western; the Rev. Gallagher of Loyola University and director of the A. C. S. R.

a church, the numerous movements of population from East to West and now from South to North, but also from country to town and from the centre of the towns to the pleasanter and more distant suburbs, are some of the many phenomena which cannot but interest the sociologist.

The difficulty is to decide what religious sociology is, if we are to go by the varying points of view collected in the course of our personal contacts. Without suggesting that it is a widely held definition, we will quote that of Professor Wach who calls religious sociology "the investigation and analysis of the relationships between religion(s) and society in their reciprocal conditionality. (66)"

One fact is certain, namely the absence already mentioned frequently (13-52) of real limits in religious sociology. The readers of Lumen Vitae will not contradict us if they look in the index of Volume IV of their review for a rubric of religious sociology. "Membership in a national sociological association," wrote Fr. Furfey of the C. U. of A. (Catholic University of America), "is not always a good criterion of sociological competence. Again, not everything written by a sociologist is sociology." Also in the list of nearly 200 names published by the A. C. S. R. we can only find two persons declaring themselves to be interested in the sociology of religion.

In order to clarify the problem, amongst the numerous studies published in the various fields of research, that we attach to this branch of sociology, we will first of all give the descriptions of local or regional communities with the conclusions that are drawn and will reserve for a second part the specific problems of behaviour, belief and groups.

I. STUDIES OF LOCAL OR REGIONAL COMMUNITIES

I. The work of sociologists. — Amidst the imposing number of studies of communities brought together by American sociologists, some (55) devote a chapter to the Churches and religious problems; others concentrate their attention on the religious life of a parish or region. In 1919 the Interchurch World Movement undertook "a survey of the entire world" to ascertain the world task of the Christian churches and to secure and register, as well as to train, the religious forces to meet the need, and to raise the money to pay for the carrying out of the world-program of actual constructive effort. "This over-ambitious scheme failed, but out of it arose the Institute of social and religious research which, from 1921

to 1934 carried out 48 schemes of research covering a third of the territory of the U. S. A. with field work for a fifth of the country. These studies are contained in monographs published directly or

indirectly by the Institute in 78 volumes (16-6).

A typical one is "Springfield Church Survey — A study of organised Religion with its Social Background," carried out under the direction of H. P. Douglass, by a large number of experts "in the field of urban church work" who had already worked at the study of the churches in St. Louis. It is necessary to read a volume such as this, with its 96 tables in the text (and 24 in an appendix), its 44 charts, and illustrations, to appreciate the very interesting conclusions of the authors, and also to study their methods and follow them in their survey from "the coming of the people and their churches, the recent ecclesiastical growth and the churches today down to the problems of religious education and church life and work." The book, a classic in its kind, ends with interpretations and conclusions which, going beyond sociology, constitute an excellent protestant programme for a better evangelisation of Springfield.

For their part, the *Catholics*, often by way of theses for the doctorate of the C. U. of A., have for the last ten years been studying parishes and whole dioceses. G. J. Schnepp (57) has given information on religious practice in a town parish on the Atlantic coast: 80% of the Catholics are practising, i. e. assist at Mass on Sunday and go to their Easter duties; 4% are lax and fulfil their Easter duties but only attend Mass irregularly; the remainder 16% are lapsed who have not been to Mass or Communion for over a year. This study, based like many others on a system of interviews and questionnaires asked of all the parishioners, gives us an excellent picture of the vitality of the urban Catholicism in the United States.

C. J. Nuesse (50) gives us a study of the finances of a parish in relation to the social hierarchy and prestige of the parishioners. The definition of a parishioner's obligations determined by an assessment board on the principle of ability to pay (from \$ 32 to \$ 12 a year) were clear and explicit and the degree to which his financial obligations were fulfilled became public knowledge in the parish and even outside through the medium of the printed financial reports.

In 1947 "to stimulate research and to pool the efforts of Catholic sociologists in various fields," the A. C. S. S. formed a committee for the sociology of religion (including the parish) while the C. U. of A. established a research committee "to undertake a series

of opinions among Catholics of the U. S., " and Fordham (the Catholic University of New York) introduced into its sociological department a course of lectures on the parish, given by Fr. Donovan.

A survey of one of the old parishes of New Orleans by Fr. Fichter is in process of publication by the "U. of C. Press." This work, the result of four years' labour, should be the first exhaustive monograph on an urban parish.

The religious observance of the Jews (17) has been less studied; however, we know that amongst the fathers who send their children to a Hebrew school, only 12 % observe the sabbatical rest and 9 % go to the synagogue (22).

2. Ethnological work. — The ethnological social studies on the community furnish us with valuable data. Lynd (40) tells us, for example, that II % of the men and I8 % of the women of Middletown go to pray in church on Sunday. Professor Warner has made a special study of religious practice as regards the social structure (67) and Professor Hughes makes a suggestive comparison between the behaviour of Catholics and Protestants in a small town in French Canada (29).

The Negroes have also been the subject of the attention of the ethnologists (anthropologists) in the South as well as in the North (14-8).

At the present time the Bureau of Social and Religious Research (North-Western University) under the direction of Professors Leiffer and Smith are studying the north of Chicago and numerous other communities. Professor S. Kincheloe of Chicago University is specialising in the southern part of the town and particularly, with remarkable constancy, in the dying churches, trying to discover the process of desertion.

3. Tendencies and Problems. — Out of this immense mass of data, a certain number of tendencies and problems arise. Over the whole country the rural churches are undergoing a crisis, in many cases mortal. The increasing urbanisation of the population is emptying the countryside, and the landworkers who still live in it desert the village church in favour of one in the town to which their car can convey them rapidly (6). In regions where religious feeling is still fairly strong, the church is the only institution which maintains a deceptive unity in a desintegrating neighbourhood.

The small town churches seem to be able to keep their members together better than the large ones and the conservative ones are as a rule more prosperous than the liberal (7). As the town develops from 50.000 to 150.000 inhabitants, the distribution of

religious buildings is altered: the churches situated in the centre soon yield to chapels of ease and Sundayschools set up in the suburbs. The continual development of the towns creates a continual replacement problem, owing to the mobility of the urban population which causes the desertion of churches built yesterday for a particular sect, the members of which have now moved out to the suburbs. The characteristics of the new community and the specific problems which the ministers have to deal with have been carefully analysed (33b) in order to facilitate the adaptation of the local church to the conditions of life in the modern ever changing city.

But in reading all these studies, the foreigner is chiefly impressed by the enormous number of extra-religious activities grouped around the place of worship: centres for social workers, playrooms for the children, gymnasia, theatres, meeting halls for adults (as much for religious discussions as for bingo parties). All the monographs contain a detailed list of these social activities, but some of the authors have confined themselves to this aspect of parochial life; they clearly show that the parish, centre of worship, is also a place of assembly providing its members with all kinds of amenities and that friendly atmosphere which others seek in lay clubs.

Some enquirers, encouraged by their experience and wanting to perfect their methods, have drawn up questionnaires (37a-53-16b), frequently brought up to date. They have clarified their ideas and delimited their problems, so that greater unity may be hoped for future research work, this allowing fruitful comparisons to be made and a comprehensive judgement to be formed, both of which are at present lacking. ⁴

II. GENERAL PROBLEMS OF BEHAVIOUR, BELIEFS AND GROUPS

In order to remedy this atomising of scientific knowledge, sociologists have studied certain particular questions on the national scale. They have set out to discover the problems which face the believer at various periods in life, taking into account his social position; also the exact content of his faith, the character of the various religious groups.

⁴ During the last term, for instance, Professor S. Kincheloe has worked with his pupils of « Religious Sociology » on a new issue of a typical questionnaire for surveying a parish.

I. Behaviour and beliefs. — The Catholics have made a special study of their schools and religious education. The diocese of Saint Augustine (Florida) gave G. A. Kelly (31) plenty of "consolation:" education in a religious school, at least until the end of high school, is an essential factor of religious practice.

McCaffrey (41) gives a detailed description of the position of youth in an urban parish; he discusses their attitude to religion,

the family, leisure, and education.

Delinquent children have been the subject of a lively polemic; are they to be found mainly in non-practising families or does

religion have no effect (36)?

All these problems are closely linked with the study of the family which is one of the favourite fields of research among American sociologists. Thus we are well documented on marriages between members of different religions (37d-32). In spite of definite progress since 1870, heterogamy remains a limited phenomenon, and the majority of Americans marry their coreligionists. As a rule, Catholics wish to be married according to the rules of their Church, whilst protestants and especially Israelites often accept a religious ceremony outside their denomination. In the diocese of St.Augustine (31) half of the conversions to Catholicism were the result of mixed marriages.

Religious heterogamy remains one of the essential causes of conjugal misunderstandings, especially on the subject of the children, their number and their education. Several authors have studied the influence of religious convictions on fertility and have come to the conclusion that the Catholic families are the most numerous, although their fertility diminished more quickly than that of

non-Catholics between 1919 and 1933 (12-23-25-34).

Relationship between religion and politics is still a matter for vague generalisations; conservatism and Catholicism are often associated, as also are religious and political liberalism. The distribution of creeds according to social class has been the subject of numerous studies (54 a and b). There is a real social hierarchy between the various protestant sects and the transition from one to another is often the sign of a man's rise in social rank (67 a and b). Judaism and Catholicism recruit their members from all classes, but Jews are chiefly "upper class" and the Catholics "lower class."

Racial problems also interfere with religion. The words "Catholic" and "Irish" are synonymous for many Americans. The religious situation of the Negroes, and the policy of the different churches as regards segregation have been the subject of some surveys, often from the polemical viewpoint (19-39).

Polemics have also invaded the analysis of beliefs since Leuba (38) "proved" that intelligence and faith are antinomies, and that believers are to be found among men with less intellectual endowments. After him, numerous enquiries have been made as to religious beliefs of students (1 a,b,c,-61-65). In the four years at college, the average student becomes more liberal in his beliefs and less strict in his practice. God is no longer for him a majestic king with a long beard whose wrath is impressive and in whose good graces he must be careful to keep, but becomes a "leading idea," a "first cause," a "universal principle." 50% of the cases examined cast off the faith of their parents and 20 % reject all belief in God. They come to consider one religion as good as another and sectarian animosities as out of date. 2,500 persons, mainly students, were asked "Why are you religious, no matter what be your form of religion?" Most answers were: "To give an aim and meaning to my life; "concern with an after-life and salvation of one's soul were more rarely mentioned (4b).

Tottering beliefs (64) have led some observers to conclude that there is an imminent radical change in religious practice and mentality and then have even asked whether the institutional forms of religion will survive. A salutary counter to these conclusions has been given by an article by Morse (46) who in 1913 discovered identical tendencies among 126 students. Besides, among 286 students of a Middle West university, 95 % Catholics, 88 % Protestants and 66 % Jews are desirous that their children shall be given a deeper and more comprehensive religious education than

they themselves received (61).

It seems (I-a) indeed, that after the irreligion or liberalism of the twenties, maturity, conjugal and social responsibilities and the education of their children bring men back to the beliefs and ancestral practices of their childhood.

The war played an important part in this respect; soldiers have been strengthened in their faith or led back to God by their experience under fire. On the other hand, their practice has diminished. Nearly 3/4 have stated that prayer "helped a lot" in difficult moments (59a).

The apparent contradiction in all these results has led psychosociologists to study the consistency of beliefs and of religious practice among men, a study which has only just been started (70-60).

The general tendency towards a greater liberalism appears also amongst students at the different seminaries and has not been without effect on recruiting, training and mentality of ministers (45).

A survey of 500 of them compared with 200 theological students (3) tells us, among other things, that 80 % believe in the Trinity, 71 % in the virginity of Mary (only 25 % of the students) and 60 % in the devil. Other enquiries of the same sort have informed us on the relativity of the theological principles of those 1,000 Chicago ministers of religion, who divide into two almost equal groups when they have to decide whether we are sons of God on the same grounds as Jesus (24). M. H. Leiffer (37b) in his study on Methodist ministers gives precise data as to recruitment of the young students, the influences deciding their choice and the age at which it was made.

2. Groups. — The great social-religious problem in America is the multiplicity of sects, denominations and Christian churches ⁵. There has long been an abundant literature describing the doctrines of these different creeds (48a-4a). But only recently has the socio-

logical bearing of the problem been perceived (9b-10).

Detailed studies have been undertaken on the ritual of these small religious groups, their social composition, the attitude of their members to the group and to outsiders. Several authors have tried to classify them according to different criteria. Mc Comas (43) distinguishes the sects according to psychological types, Yinger (71) and Becker (5) take their classification between the two extremes of "theoretically complete withdrawal from the world " and " theoretically complete acceptance of the world." But the most common distinction is that which is made between sect. denomination, and Church (54b). The sect is a minority group protesting against the moral, social and religious conduct of the majority; such a sect can make for itself a closed, theocentric and remarkably stable world of its own (35) or maybe in rebellion against society (28-72); if it makes its peace with the world, it becomes a denomination or a Church, expands in numbers by losing its poorest members and by gaining numerous recruits among the leisured classes. This transformation is often linked with the progressive assimilation of an ethnic group (44).

This consideration has led Richard Niebuhr (48b) to state that the true source of the multiplication of sects is economic and social and not theological. Other authors disagree with his conclusion and remark that differences, if not in doctrines, at least in rites, have been the source of numerous secessions (68). But these suggested explanations go beyond the sphere of empirical research and

belong to sociological theory.

⁵ The official list gives 256 names, but the real number is over 400.

Compared with the considerable amount of interest which the description of these facts has aroused in this country, the attempts at systemisation and explanation seem very limited. The growing laicisation of our society has been the subject of some penetrating remarks based on the conclusion of practical studies (2-18-24). Professor J. Wach's book (66) is the only one which gives a comprehensive review of the different types of religions in the world. Professor Sorokin (58), in his general theory of culture has given much space to religion while keeping closely to the results of empirical research. But theorists are generally in agreement with T. Parsons (51) who, before starting to discuss "the theoretical development of the sociology of religion" declares: "This can perhaps most conveniently be done in terms of the contributions of 4 important theorists, Pareto, Malinowski, Durkheim and Max Weber."

In a magazine of the A. C. S. R., Mr Francis writes: "Clark's study (10) seems to suffer somewhat by its accumulation of details and emphasis on local color." With some reservations these remarks are pertinent to most sociologists when dealing with religion. Without always realising the immense riches of this living laboratory in which they have the unique good fortune to work, they construct bookcases with multiple shelves, and they proceed to collect, or more accurately, to fill little bottles ornamented with various coloured labels, at the same time lining drawers and cupboards with numerous and varied charts; but, perhaps because they are expecting certain empty spaces to be filled up, they do not as yet attempt the wonderful synthesis which no doubt some sociologist could make if he seized the opportunity "of boldly attacking some of the most difficult residual problems of sociological theory."

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ASR

Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences

Applied Anthropology

Genetic Psychology Monographs

Homiletic and Pastoral Review (The)

Graph H & PR

Jewish Review (The)	JR
Jewish Social Studies	ISS
Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology	I of A & SP
» » Bible and Religion	J of B & R
» » Educational Psychology	3
» » Psychology	J of Ps
» » Religious Psychology	J of RP
» » Religious Thought	J of RT
» » Social Psychology	v
Lumen Vitae	LV
Reconstructionist (The)	The Rec.
Review of Religion (The)	
Rural Sociology	
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Sociology and Social Research	S & SR
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Religious Sociology in Latin America

by George Kibédi Professor at the "Universidad Javeriana," Founder and director of the "Sociedad de Sociología," Bogota ¹

Fr. Lebret, O. P., has had a big influence on Latin American Catholics. His journey in 1947 through Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and the Argentine resulted in the formation of teams of technicians and workers for the study and bettering of the social, economic and cultural conditions of life in the South American States. The French organisation Économie et Humanisme, which he originated, has thus greatly influenced militant Catholics in Latin America: in all the Catholic centres, Rio, Sao Paolo, Bogota, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Caracas and La Paz, are to be found the publications of the "Institut International d'Économie Humaine:" Idées et Forces, Diagnostic économique et social, and Efficacité.

The Guide du militant, L'efficacité politique du chrétien, L'action marche vers Dieu, by Fr. Lebret are the basic manuals of

theory and practice in use among Catholic leaders.

The majority of the South-American Catholics working for the christianisation of their milieux followed the courses of intensive training organised by *Économie et Humanisme* at La Tourette, the centre of the movement in France.

The South American centres which are surveying the social position in the different classes have taken as their charter La Lettre aux Américains, published by Fr. Lebret after his South

¹ After his studies at Budapest University, M. G. Kibédi pursued sociological investigations for seven years (1936-1943) in Rumania, Slovakia, Croatia, Austria and Hungary. He then spent several years in social and cultural studies in Spain, France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Italy... Since 1950 he has been lecturing at the Javeriana University at Bogota, where he is head of the Sociological Institute. — Address: Universidad Javeriana, Calle 10, № 6-57, Bogota, Colombia (Editor's note).

American journey; and so they are distinct from the traditional parties and they keep contact with the people.

Here are some striking paragraphs from the Lettre aux Améri-

cains:

The responsibilities of the educated are crushing. The time has passed for the routine application of facile but obsolete formulae, of escapism into a discarnate supernaturalism, while injustice spreads its rule.

The choice has to be made between a superficial religion pasted on real life with no power to stop a growing materialism, and one which is *living*, exalted, drawing men of all classes to the realisation of saving truths.

To keep silence in face of evil, faith in power rather than faith in the gospel truths, to refuse to take up energetically the defence of the oppressed, these are the betrayals which may well prepare the way for a bloody future.

I. Brazil.

A group of Économie et Humanisme was formed in Brazil after the course given by Fr. Lebret at the school of Sociology and Politics at Sao Paolo, and also at Rio de Janeiro under the patronage of the archdiocesan Catholic Action. They decided to undertake scientific research in the interaction of social structures and religious vitality, thus imitating the French movement with its enquiries concerning the dockers at Marseilles, housing at St. Étienne. delinquency and houses of correction at Paris, Lille, etc. This research centre is called the "Sociedad para la Aplicación del Grafismo y de la Mecanographía al Analisis de los Complejos Sociales " (SAGMACS). It has for its technical manager a Frenchman: I. Le Digou, who came to Sao Paolo in January 1948; the general manager is Benavenuto Santa Cruz, O. P. Among those collaborating are the engineer Cintra da Prado, Dr. Freitas, Josué de Castro. as well as professors of the University, priests and workers' leaders.

During the past years this centre has conducted enquiries concerning abandoned children, juvenile delinquency, the standard of living among the working classes, the position of servants and of university students.

Its enquiry as to housing conditions in Sao Paolo provoked bitter discussions. The leisured classes felt themselves to be the object of attack; they did not admit that they were responsible for the degeneration of abandoned social classes or that the inefficiency of their "little reforms" should be revealed, reforms which were too much like almsgiving.

The impressive results of the enquiry conducted by SAGMACS

on "juvenile delinquency and the protection of abandoned children" were published by Fr. Roberto Saboia de Medeiros, S. J. in his review *Servicio Social* (IX, 1949, March-June).

The success of his work led to SAGMACS being entrusted with

official enquiries. Every one acknowledged the competence and

exceptional impartiality of the group.

2. Chile.

In Chile the management of the review Politica y Espiritu promoted sociological researches and enquiries into the faith of the people. Its most important studies were on the milieu of mineworkers and the influence of marxist theories in drawing the masses away from the Church. 2

3. Peru.

A year ago, Catholic professional workers in Peru formed a society to study the historical development of the country, the origins of customs going back to the time of the Incas, and the beliefs of the natives. The group is called "Fides," is headed by Fernando Stiglich and has amongst its members, engineers, lawyers, journalists as well as workmen's leaders and clerks. "Fides " has a bi-monthly review of the same name; its spiritual and social directives reach thousands of readers.

This group, still in process of formation, meets at the archbishop's palace at Lima; it has particularly taken for study Fr. Lebret's book, Guide du militant.

4. Colombia.

- "Fides" and the Colombian group Testimonio with the same object, met at Bogota in January 1951 to study the position with regard to Spanish-American Catholicism. For a week (14-21 January) the problems were amicably discussed between secular and regular priests of the different South-American Republics. The chief questions debated were the following:
- 1. Is Spanish-American christianity divided into classes? Does the popular faith differ from that of the higher classes? Are popular devotions different from those of other classes?
- 2. What are the usual relations between the clergy and the laity among the Spanish-Americans? Are they marked by affection and mutual trust or are they uneasy by reason of distrust and aloofness? What contacts are there between the faithful and their parish priest? Is there religious instruc-

² See, further on, the article by Fr. Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga, S. J.

tion? Preparation for liturgical ceremonies? Political problems? What effect have religious communities on the parochial spirit?

- 3. What are the most common sources of doctrinal instruction? Is it the missal? Novenas? Holy Scriptures? Reviews? The Daily Press? Are these sources common to all the social classes? Are devotions and religious practices grouped around the liturgy? Does anarchy and individualism affect devotion? What are the customs amongst the people concerning the administration of the sacraments: baptism? confirmation? first communion? marriage? extreme unction? What parochial charitable works are carried out?
- 4. To what degree is the Christian life influenced by industrial development and town life?

This meeting brought out the need for a thorough investigation of the above problems, to acquire exact data which might serve as a basis for a methodical apostolate.

The enquiries being carried out by the Sociedad de Sociología (Colombia) on the vitality of parishes and the methods of the apostolate have as their aim to assemble this information about the positive and negative aspects of popular faith.

Positive aspects. — Contemplation. — Are there any indications of contemplation among the people? The expressions of popular piety have been regarded as superstitious; are they not rather the outward signs of a lively and genuine faith? What ought one to prefer: the edification provided by works of social utility or the fervour drawn from contemplation? How can leaders take part in popular practices?

Faith in Providence. — Up to what point does abandonment to Divine Providence influence the life of the people? How avoid distortions which lead to improvidence?

Patience. — Are the South American peoples more able to bear sufferings and privations than Europeans? To what can this patience be attributed: to the Christian spirit? indolence? a slavish conformism?

Manifestations of worship. — The Eucharistic devotion — that for the Blessed Virgin — for the dead.

Negative aspects. — Ignorance of religion — of the liturgy — sentimentality — superstition — improvidence — indolence — predominance of secondary devotions — distortion of devotions for the dead (thanatolatry) — non-priestly religion — anarchy of Catholics in their practices — depreciation and misunderstanding of sanctity.

We have mentioned the *Colombian* institution *Testimonio*. A word as to its origins. On the advice of two French Dominicans, Frs. Blanchet and Nielly, some of the laity met together for the purpose of working for their own sanctification in the Third Order of S. Dominic. The leaders of *Testimonio* belong to the Catholic élite of the country: Hernan Vergara, psychiatrist, director of

the Institute of Applied Psychology and the St. Thomas clinic, Emilio Robledo, the statesman, great jurist and celebrated philosopher, Albert Luque, Daniel Henao.

Since the international congress of January 1951, Testimonio has evolved. Up till then it insisted on the theoretical training of its members. This year (1951) has seen the beginnings of an apostolate in the universities and press. The idea is to reach all the different milieux and not confine their mission to their friends only.

Testimonio has a well thought out plan for reaching various classes. The members of the Third Order belong to every social class. The vitality of their Catholicism is shown by such facts as the following: Hernan Vergara and the other leaders of the cells of *Testimonio* have won over to the Church some wellknown communists.

The Sociedad de Sociología was founded in Colombia in order to intensify sociological investigation and to further the enquiry undertaken by Lumen Vitae on the practice of religion. Its activities fall into three principal groups.

Supernatural training. — Each aspirant must undergo a year's probation working regularly in the workingclass quarters; he must study scientific work in the seminaries for social training; finally and chiefly, he must, by means of monthly recollections and meetings dealing with instruction in the Catholic faith acquire the fervour which is indispensable to the accomplishment of the difficult undertakings which are the reason for the society's existence.

The spiritual director is Fr. Arenas, O. P., apostle of the workingclass quarters in the south of Bogota.

Scientific sociological training. — The formation of the members of the society is carried out in the seminaries and at the time of the enquiries. The following take part in the work: priests of different orders and congregations, architects, engineers, sociologists, economists, psychologists, teachers, students of all the universities, and the girls from the social service schools. The society does not want to become a closed body alongside many others that stand alone and are ineffective.

PRACTICAL EXPERIMENTS IN SOCIAL REFORMS. — Like the sociological movements in Hungary and Rumania, and following the methods of Économie et Humanisme, the Sociedad de Sociología does not simply collect information concerning the various problems, but tries to bring about these improvements shown to be necessary by its investigations.

At the moment it is establishing social centres in the poorest quarters of Bogota. By means of its crêches, its day and evening schools, its practical professional courses, its dispensary, its social enquiry bureau, its popular

theatre, educative cinema, choirs, information service and employment office, its house visiting, it works at making the people capable of helping actively in the betterment of living conditions in all its aspects.

The following are the *researches* carried out up to the present by the society (the influence of the milieu on the practice of religion has particularly received attention):

Students, housing conditions of the workingclasses, illiteracy and primary education, «commercial» colleges (profit-making), alcoholism and degeneracy, instability of the workers, servants, standard of life of the middle class, and of the proletariat, the bringing up of children among the workingclass, the position of the schoolmaster, the break-up of the family, the organisations of social, cultural and economic character for the workers.

The chief investigation undertaken by the society was on the vitality of the parish and the methods of the apostolate. Here are the problems which occupied attention:

I. GENERAL SITUATION. — General information: the name of the parish, date of its foundation, its history, its extent, total population, density of the parish population, distance of the furthest parishioners away from the centre.

Demographic position: The movements of the population during the last decades; births, baptisms, civil and religious marriages, burials during the last twenty years.

 $\it Economic\ position:$ division of the population into professions and trades, according to social categories.

Division from the religious point of view: religions, sects, philosophical circles existing in the parish: division of practising Catholics according to age, sex, profession, social class.

Parochial position: how many does the church hold? Attendance at Sunday Mass, weekday Masses; the clergy of the parish, helpers, religious, vocations in the parish; parochial organisations.

- 2. Parochial vitality (position and tendencies). Baptisms, religious marriages, last sacraments, religious burials, communions (weekly, Sunday, the chief feasts, Christmas, Easter), attendance at Mass, catechism, Catholic societies in the parish (their strength, membership, results), Catholic Action for men and for women, boys and girls.
- 3. Constructive activity. Liturgical action, doctrine, missions, schools, social centres, lectures, recreations, social work, trades-unions, preparation of leaders, political action.
- 4. Factors in dechristianisation. Discontent with the behaviour of the parish priest (the criticisms of the people against him and the parish); the aloofness of the upper classes, indifference of the "good" people (Sunday Catholics) to the poor; the growing materialism of society; great wealth

alongside great poverty; movements (journeys by bus or tram); instability of the population; links between politics and religion; political discussions; trade-unionism; non-Catholic works of assistance; the social milieu; alcoholism; dancing; cinema; amusements; separation of husbands and wives; free love; immorality; work of the young away from home; work of women at factories and away from home; lack of family life; break-up of the family; the press; schools; subversive sects and groups; superstition; influence of individuals.

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PART II

Topical Studies



American Research Bearing Upon the Sociology of the Parish

Summary Outline of the Report

by C. Joseph Nuesse

Professor at the Catholic University of America, Washington 1

I. Introduction.

- A. For various reasons, the present report must be limited to a survey of types of investigations which have yielded data useful for the sociology of the Catholic parish. Very little research has been focused directly upon the parish group, or upon other aspects of American Catholic life.
- B. First attempts to apply positive methods to the study of parishes would include the following:
- 1. Studies of rural churches, begun about 1910, mainly statistical in character.
- 2. Studies of urban Protestant churches, begun about 1920, principally ecological or statistical.
- 3. Practical treatments, based upon factual research, for the guidance of pastors. John J. Harbrecht, *The Lay Apostolate* (St. Louis:

¹ Born November 25, 1913; Bachelor of Education, Central State Teachers College, Stevens Point, Wisconsin, 1934; Master of Arts, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1937; Doctor of Philosophy, The Catholic University of America, 1944. Teacher of social studies, public schools of Antigo, Wisconsin, 1934-40; Instructor in sociology, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1943-45; The Catholic University of America, 1945-48, assistant professor since 1948. Author, The Social Thought of American Catholics, 1634-1829 (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1945), co-editor with Thomas J. Harte, C. ss. R., The Sociology of the Parish, An Introductory Symposium (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, forthcoming), articles in The American Catholic Sociological Review, Social Forces, and Social Studies. — Address: The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., U. S. A. (Editor's note).

- B. Herder Co., 1929), is perhaps the best example by a Catholic author.
- 4. Studies of "leakage" in individual parishes. Gerald Shaughnessy, S. M., Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith? (New York, Macmillan Co., 1929), an historical inquiry on a national basis, was an important stimulus.
 - C. Two works currently in preparation are:
- 1. A year-long, intensive sociological study of an urban parish by Joseph H. Fichter, S. J., Loyola University of the South, New Orleans, Louisiana, for which the field work has been completed.
- 2. The Sociology of the Parish; An Introductory Symposium, edited by C. J. Nuesse and Thomas J. Harte, C. ss. R., to be published this year by The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
 - 2. Types of problems investigated.
- A. Demographic trends. -1. A great handicap is the lack of accurate basic statistical data on the Catholic population.
- 2. Most studies have been focused upon fertility differentials. See Coogan, *Catholic Fertility in Florida* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946), based upon a diocesan census.
- B. Religious observance. 1. One type of study has been based upon census investigations of single parishes or single communities, e. g. Gerald J. Schnepp, S. M., Leakage from a Catholic Parish (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1942). George A. Kelly, Catholics and the Practice of the Faith (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946), is based upon a diocesan census.
- 2. There are numerous surveys of college classes or specialized groups based upon attitude or opinion questionnaires, but these are too often questionable on grounds of biased sampling or invalid instruments. A committee in the department of sociology at The Catholic University of America is currently conducting a "Catholic Opinion Study" on a cooperative basis.
- C. Associational participation. 1. Available studies point to religious differentials in memberships.
- 2. Participation seems to be a family trait, and church membership seems to be correlated positively with membership in other groups.

D. Ethnic and class systems. — 1. The Catholic Church in America has been deeply involved in the problem of assimilation:

a. Through identification with specific ethnic groups.

- b. Through conflicts among ethnic groups within the Church.
- 2. The parish is often functionally related to ethnic groups, either as a "structural fence" or as an agency of group integration and self-defence.
- 3. Class positions and social mobility are naturally related to ethnic and occupational statuses.

See, for example, Elin Anderson, We Americans (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937); W. J. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (5 vols.; Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1920); W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

- E. Integration of parish and community.—I. The Old World fusion of parish and community is not to be found in the United States.
- 2. In some rural communities where the parish has approximated its traditional role, it has served as an integrating factor.
- 3. In differentiated communities, especially in urban areas, parishes are "unlike segments of a single community." See Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).
- F. The ecology of the parish. 1. Studies of Protestant congregations have often focused upon problems of ecological position.
- 2. Urbanization and the steady loss of rural population suggest that ecological studies of rural Catholic parishes would be significant.
- 3. The relevance of such studies in urban areas is indicated by the problems of "down-town churches" and by the adjustments to changes in population base. (Population mobility in American cities is not simply individual: it is to a very consideriable extent the movement of groups.)

Conclusion.

A. This cursory and incomplete review indicates how the parish has been treated incidental to the investigation of other problems.

B. The sociologist of the parish must point his efforts toward the development of an adequate frame of reference, based upon the nature of the parish as a social group, in order to formulate sociologically significant hypotheses and contribute findings of theoretical and practical worth.

Suggestions to American Catholic Sociologists for a Scheme of Research

by and

E. K. FRANCIS

Professor of Sociology, Notre Dame University, U. S. A ¹ Jean LABBENS

Doctor of Philosophy 2

I. Responsibilities of Catholic Sociologists.

As the title indicates, this article offers only suggestions. It is not proposed to furnish a list of subjects which students could present for the doctorate, nor to make a catalogue of possible research work. We will simply discuss some general principles which should be borne in mind in all schemes of research.³

For some years past, the Catholic sociologists of the United States have spent much time and ink in defining sociology. As might be expected, they have suggested many varied and even contradictory definitions. ⁴ We have no intention of reo-

¹ Before being appointed to the University of Notre Dame in 1947, Professor Francis had taught Sociology at the University of Manitoba and at the College of Saint Paul, Winnipeg (Canada). He has produced numerous articles, of which the principal themes are: the theory of Sociology, racial groups, rural culture, the history of Sociology. — Address: University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, U. S. A. (Editor's note).

² M. Jean Labbens studied at the Catholic Universities of Lille and of Lyons, at the Practical School of Higher Studies. He is an M. A., he holds the Certificate of the International Institute of Diplomatic Studies and Research, the Diploma of the Practical School of Higher Studies and a doctorate in Philosophy. He studied in the United States for some time before beginning to teach Sociology. — Address: P. O. Box 28, Notre Dame, Indiana, U. S. A. (Editor's note).

³ This article recapitulates the views of E. K. Francis given at the meeting of the American Catholic Sociological Society. Chicago, December 1950.

⁴ American Catholic Sociological Review, 1940.

pening the debate; but will take for granted that sociology is a science. Its object is not to conquer nature nor to guide nations; sociology seeks to know and to explain. Moreover, most sociologists regard it as a science of facts, empirical and inductive. It will, then, be sufficient for our purposes to define the formal object of sociology as observation, description and classification of facts. We must add, however, one important element: scientific knowledge neither begins nor ends in the realm of facts, but in that of thought and theory. Beyond observation, description, classification is sociological theory endeavouring to discover the What? How? Why?

This being the case, it would seem that Catholic sociologists have no very special task; observation, description and classification of social facts do not depend on faith or morals; sociology is concerned with things as they are and not as they ought to be; the supernatural is of no concern except as it appears in the natural order and becomes observable to the scientist. The same applies to the theory of sociology; being scientific, this must be formulated in such a way that its truth can be demonstrated. not directly, but indirectly, and the facts apprehended must be guaranteed by the postulates. There does not and cannot exist a Catholic theory of sociology; there can only be sociological theories.

Yet we would be mistaken were we not to recognise any special responsibility resting upon Catholic sociologists. In the first place, the Catholic conception of man and his destiny, with all that it teaches us about man as a natural being, will help us undoubtedly to avoid cul de sacs. Here the Catholic contribution can be of great importance for the theory of sociology. We can also emphasise the part which non-scientific factors play in intellectual creation. The intuition by means of which a scientist arrives at his hypothesis and his general theory obviously depends on his past experience, his general culture, his learning, education, conception of the world and therefore, also on his religious convictions. Many fruitful ideas in sociology will come more spontaneously to the mind of the sociologist reared in the humanist tradition of Catholicism. Finally, it is personal interest which governs studv and research: there are groups and institutions existing which will be more likely to arouse the interest of a Catholic than that of an atheist, or even of a Protestant. Very often, only the Catholic has the opportunity of studying institutions or groups scientifically: others would find insuperable difficulties in entering them, sympathising with their traditions, understanding their liturgy, for instance. One may be allowed then to speak of a task which lies before Catholic sociologists — and not simply sociologists who are Catholics — without speaking of Catholic sociology. Such an expression as this suggests a misunderstanding of the scientific nature of sociology. After all, the important thing is not whether sociology ought or ought not to be Catholic, but whether the science will or will not develop a culture inspired by the Catholic conception of man. We do not think that the Church needs a Catholic sociology; but we do assert that both Church and sociology need Catholic sociologists.

These considerations were necessary to establish clearly that sociology needs Catholics and that, when they take up sociological research, Catholics cannot claim a sociology of their own; they, like the others, must abide by the rules of the game. If their work has been competently carried out, their conclusions will be of value; if not, they cannot justify themselves by extra-scientific arguments against merited refutation. Now that we have made plain why and in what conditions Catholics are useful and necessary to sociology, it will be easier for us to state what is required of them.

2. Tasks for Catholic sociologists.

A. Theoretical research, observation of facts. — Catholics seem to have a strong and natural inclination for theory. No doubt theory is necessary these days: a mass of observations have been accumulated and most of them remain useless and meaningless. owing to our lack of an adequate theory of sociology. In a wide sense, we may speak of research in the domain of theory: seeking out causes, explaining man's life in society by general laws. is very different from the simple compilation of already known facts, in the manner of the dissertations - the very mediocre dissertations - of students. Theoretical research is to be distinguished from the method which we follow very often, and perhaps inevitably, in our teaching. Nor has theoretical research anything in common with critical examination, on philosophical or theological grounds, of the conclusions of other sociologists. New hypotheses have to be found capable explaining facts which have as yet had no scientific explanation. But alas, who can put forward a scheme to bring forth the Newtons or Einsteins of sociology? Besides, the multiplication of "theorists" of the small calibre would be a veritable disaster. We must also acknowledge that Catholics have been much more preoccupied with social philosophy, ethics or apologetics than with true sociology. This may be the result of the problems of our educative system, but it is incontestable that it does not encourage sociological research.

Catholics, then, would be wise to accept the narrow limits which the present state of the science imposes. Instead of tackling, clumsilv and alone, the most complex theoretical questions, they would do better to concentrate on description and seek to obtain gradually the facts which we so greatly need in that field for which they are particularly well equipped. This does not mean that Catholics must deny themselves their penchant for theory, but they should by a rigorous intellectual discipline canalise their ambitions and keep principally to what Robert Merton has called the "theories of the middlerange:" "Theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses involved in abundance during the day-by-day routine of research, and the all-inclusive speculation comprising a master conceptual scheme from which it is hoped to derive a very large number of empirically observed uniformities of social behaviour."5

There are incontestable advantages in giving this more restricted, but more natural, meaning to the word "research;" the danger of intellectual isolation is avoided and Catholics can share in the vast cooperative effort to enlarge empiric knowledge. Moreover, if we have a just estimate of the human and material resources at our disposal, we will realise that this kind of research is the only one which gives any hope of resulting in valuable work. French Catholic sociologists seem to have grasped this: Professor Le Bras' school has not developed in an exclusively Catholic environment, although the majority of his helpers and pupils are of that faith. From the fact that it undertook empirical research into French Catholicism, his team was open to the consideration and collaboration of other scientists and researchers. There is no other school in existence at present which has contributed as much to the sociology of religion, for if, as another article in this number points out, America has not neglected this sphere of action, preoccupations with efficiency and action have at times falsified the results of a work, not unimportant, but in which Catholics played little part.

B. Problems of particular interest to Catholics. — Which are then the problems of greatest interest to Catholic sociologists and in which they can make an essential contribution to sociological

⁵ Social Theory and Social Structure, 1949, p. 5.

research? We will point out a few without claiming to be exhaustive.

a) The first subject which suggests itself is American Catholicism itself, its culture, its working as a social system within American society, its relations with other systems and with the Protestant culture which exerts a dominant influence in the country, its part in American life, etc. Such an investigation would also involve a comparison between the different forms of Catholic life in the other countries of the world. Another field of research in religious sociology is that of the Catholic parish and the large religious orders. The parish can be studied on the same lines on which ethnologists study tribes and ecologists the local community.

During the last few years American sociologists have developed the study of the various professions. Why not undertake a similar investigation into the *Catholic priesthood*? Also the *relation between religion and institutions*: many institutions, formerly linked up with religion in one way or another, are now becoming secularised. This significant fact has received praise or blame from Catholics, but has never been scientifically studied. We are pleased to announce that a student of Notre Dame University is preparing a thesis for the doctorate on the "process of secularisation."

- b) Catholic sociologists will also be interested in the social problems which are of particular concern for the Church and Catholicism. Amongst these may be mentioned what are called "population problems "including the fecundity of various social groups. as regards age, sex, migrations, etc. Also, a thorough census of the Catholic population of the United States, making a clear distinction between practising Catholics and others, including the lapsed, would be a subject very worthy of attention. It would. doubtless, lead to a notable improvement in our technical methods. A kindred subject is the examination of family life, with especial attention to the Catholic family. An important piece of research has already been accomplished here, much remains to be done and methods of greater precision are needed to determine with exactitude the part played by religious education and convictions in sexual behaviour, conjugal harmony and the functioning of the family as a unit in the social system. Similar problems will come to mind concerning crime and delinquency, ethnic and religious minorities, relations between different races, and the discrimination under which certain ethnic, religious, professional or economic, groups labour.
 - c) Thirdly, we know very little about the inner functioning of our

Catholic institutions. What is published concerning them is chiefly made up of praise and publicity. What, for instance, do we know of the students in our Catholic schools and universities?

And the list could be continued indefinitely. What would be the good? What we need is not so much a programme as cooperation, team work. We want help and resources, but chiefly, we want more and more recruits for research from among the students of our sociological departments. Some think that we need to "attract" students to our lectures, even to our departments, but the real requisite is that those who are already there should be given an adequate training and be convinced that sociology spells research, scientific research, and not a collection of "articles for the bottom drawer. "?

Institutional Environment and Religious Life

by Jos. H. FICHTER, S.J.

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There are many types of "environment" and the investigation of environment as a factor in the pursuit of religious activities may take many forms. As Gabriel Le Bras has stated, "Each one of us is deeply influenced by his environment and his liberty suffers pressure from many different factors.... From infancy we are subject to our *physical*, *geographical* or *ethnical* environment." ²

Influences are reciprocal in all phases of social life.

Institutions affect people as well as other institutions. People change mores and are changed by them. Because of this dynamic reciprocity in society, it is practically impossible to hold any of the variables constant long enough to make *precise* conclusions concerning the *degree* of influence of one or another. In other words, we are dealing with elements and factors which are not subject to satisfactory quantitative analysis. In spite of this physical shortcoming of social science and of the fluid character of social life, we may make a sociologically valid analysis of mutual influences.

¹ The Reverend Joseph H. Fichter took his degrees (B. A. and M. A.) in sociology at the St. Louis University; he received the doctorate of philosophy (section of sociology) at Harvard University. His principal works are: Francis Suarez, Roots of Change, St. Cecil Cyprian, Christianity, James Laynez, Textbook in Apologetics. This last book, published by The Bruce Publishing Company (Milwaukec, 1951), contains two parts, the first being taken up with classic apologetic, simplicity, clearness and conciseness being its chief merits. The second part offers a choice of quotations taken from the great Catholic authors whose works constitute an important contribution to a sound apologetic. Fr. Fichter's book is an invitation to a more profound study. — Address: Loyola University, New Orleans, U. S. A. (Editor's note).

² Le Bras, Gabriel, 'Influence of Environment on Religious Life'. Lumen Vitaz' Vol. III (1948), no. 1, p. 6.

In this paper we are speaking of cultural or institutional environment only. The culture of any community is its sum of patterns of social behavior and thought which are relatively integrated and have some permanence. The expected patterns have become institutionalized in many ways according to the basic needs which they fulfill (e. g., religious, familial, economic, etc.). Thus when we here speak of the institutional environment we mean the various customary ways in which people think and act socially when they pursue their principal roles and attempt to maintain their key status in the social structure.

It is extremely important to note that persons think and act largely as a result of the way in which the expectations of their status influence them. This does not mean that they are mere automatons, but it does mean that their "liberty suffers pressure. " Each status is not only an extrinsically evaluated position in the social structure; it is also a web of reciprocal relations and a vehicle of function. Thus we may say that a person's social thought and behavior conform largely to institutionalized patterns centering around his key status.

The cultural patterns, which combine in various ways for the social position, relations and functions of people within a community, are also an expression of the values or interests current in the community. Thus statuses are both a result of, and a vehicle for, the culture values. In other words, the moral level of a community can be roughly judged from an analysis of the kind of patterns which have become institutionalized into statuses. In a supernatural environment they will differ greatly from those in a secular and materialistic environment.

The social unit from which the facts and conclusions of this paper are derived is St. Mary's parish in a large southern city of the United States. There are 10,946 baptized white persons living within the parochial territory, but only 6,727 of them can in any true sense be called members of the Catholic parish. Within the limits of a monograph it is impossible to reproduce even a significant portion of the results obtained by a corps of research personnel over a period of two years. It is likewise impossible to include complete evidence for each statement made.

We shall select three statuses among the many which are present in the parish and attempt to dileneate both the values they express and the manner in which they influence religious life. In doing this we shall briefly review the content of the institutional environment of St. Mary's parish as it is displayed in (a) the adolescent status, (b) the occupational status of the adult male worker, (c) the class status of the adult female. In each case we shall note how the peculiar patterns of the status affect different phases of the religious life of the parish: (a) the sacramental activities of the adolescent, (b) the parochial organizational participation of the male, (c) the practice of the social virtues by the female.

(a) The status of adolescence is seldom thought of in terms of a value-construct, but it is actually a fruitful source for the interpretation of cultural values. Ideally speaking, the adolescent is preparing himself for his future functions in the various social groups in which he will participate. In this sense, adolescence itself has a function and the adolescent is pursuing a role made up of institutionalized patterns.

In the parish under consideration the young people aged fourteen to seventeen years follow certain conventional patterns of behavior. Both those who are still attending a school and those who are employed generally follow similar ways of acting. For example, companionship within each sex category and between the sexes can be plotted and gives rise to both the "gang" pat-

tern and to the "dating" system.

Boys and girls in this age category seldom cooperate successfully as a bisexual group in the religious or recreational program of a parochial organization. They do not play cards, nor dance nor carry on common recreation with each other. The Girls'Sodality wanted to sponsor a dance in the school auditorium, and the several difficulties encountered indicate the values and behavior of adolescents. The girls wanted the lights turned down low as they are at the commercial dance halls. The Pastor would not permit this. Most of the boys who came to the dance came in a group, and after standing around the walls for about an hour, decided that the girls were "too young for them." Other boys came with their "steady girl friends" (from outside the parish) with whom they danced the whole evening. Neither member of the pairs danced with any other partner.

This occasion exemplifies several habit-patterns. When a boy and girl "go steady" they seem to lose interest in all group activities in the parish. This is not a companionship preparatory to the more permanent union of marriage. The individuals tend to be alone a great deal of the time, keep late hours, enmesh themselves in the occasions of sin. On the other hand, the girls form friendship cliques among themselves, and the boys also form gangs. The members of each separate clique spend a great deal of time together, frequently idling in the corner drug stores, and when they have enough money they may attend the movie shows.

In the movies the individual boy or girl may slip away from the group and sit with one of the opposite sex during the performance. This happens when parents have forbidden their children to "have dates."

The point of this description is that the dating system and the gang system have become institutionalized among the adolescents. They are expected by their fellow adolescents to act in this way, and to have the values that accompany such behavior. If they do not follow these customs they lose status among their peers. This does not mean that no youth defies the patterns. There are some who do, and they are recognized immediately as exceptions. They lose whatever influence they might have had for changing the mores of the whole youth group. It is these exceptions who are usually the faithful members of parochial youth organizations, and their refusal to conform to the institutionalized patterns is a partial explanation for the failure of the organized parochial groups to attract membership.

But the influence of these institutionalized patterns of adolescence goes further. The individual boys and girls become indifferent to the demands of their religious life. A reputation for piety gives little prestige in the secularized culture of adolescence. Recreation which is acceptable must be enjoyed at night, and the late hours on Saturday night interfere with the reception of Holy Communion on Sunday morning. The habitual companionship of male and female adolescents tends to establish a romantic complex which is precocious and frequently immoral. The interests and values of the young people are diverted away from the apparently unexciting virtues and practices of the religious life in the parish.

(b) The occupational status of adult male parishioners is a second source for the interpretation of the cultural environment. The primary function of the occupational role is the provision of material essentials for the individual and his family. But this apparently simple goal is also surrounded by various institutionalized patterns of thought and conduct which the individual is expected to follow. After all, he must "make a living" in the milieu in which he lives and cannot entirely segregate himself from it.

In St. Mary's parish, the majority of employed males are wage earners in the lower middle class. Whether they are white collar workers, transport workers, or semi-skilled workers, they are all subjected to relatively similar "demands of the job." They are regimented according to hours, place and conditions of work: they exchange their labor for money wages according to their

productive capacity; they are oriented to think of their working hours as much more important than their leisure hours and their occupation as paramount in comparison to their family role.

The expected patterns of thought and behavior in this sensate materialistic culture tend to exaggerate the importance of an increasing material standard of living. This in turn requires that economic emulation take the place of spiritual or intellectual processes. The "success ideal" current in the American culture does not escape Catholic men, and all of the channels of social control (radio, magazine and newspaper advertisement, even the novels and movies) tend to keep this ideal before him. Anything which goes contrary to this idea — as the fullness of Catholicism certainly does — is not acceptable in the general community.

The values contained in the successful fulfillment of the occupational role account for the kind of example which these male adults provide for their children and other members of their family. The importance of commercial success in the bourgeois milieu influences them to send their children to business colleges rather than liberal arts colleges, to convince their children that they must get into a well-paying occupation, cultivate friends who will be helpful in an economic rather than in a spiritual sense. The mixed marriages of the younger generation, the abandonment of religion by both parents and children, the hard cynical attitude toward the humane virtues — all of these are directly connected with the exaggeration of occupational roles.

The men who are pursuing this ideal by following the expected patterns have neither the time nor the interest to participate in parochial organizations. The only exceptions are found in the Ushers' Society, which has, as its main function, the collection of money, and the special committees which may be occasionally formed by the Pastor to meet some financial crisis in the parish.

Here again, as in the youth groups, only the relatively unsuccessful men are likely to be found among the active members of the parochial organizations. The institutionalized ways of thinking and acting are contrary to voluntary, time-consuming, spiritual activities which carry with them little prestige and no remuneration. "What's in it for me?" is the question which seems to lurk in the minds of most men of the parish.

The Holy Name Society, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, even the Parents' Club and the Choir, contain very few active male members. The only men's group with a large active membership was a group formed for the support of athletics in the parish, and this was eventually disbanded by the parish mainly because it was more secular than religious. The fate of

this exceptional group is simply further evidence of the fact that the institutional environment of a secular culture influences the adult male workers away from the organized religious groups of the parish.

(c) The *class status* of adult women is a third matrix of institutionalized thought and behaviour which affects the religious life of parishioners. In the class structure of the parish we discover a relatively large segment of the female population who follow the norms of behaviour of the secular community. The class status of these married women is of course the same as that of their husbands, and the women under consideration here are the wives of the male workers mentioned above.

Women, for the most part, are the culture-bearers of any society. They express the ethos of a community in ways related to, and in support of, the status which their family enjoys. In general, it may be said in this southern urban parish that the aspiration for a higher standard of living is the most forceful motivation for the conduct of women in this group. The women tend to form social cliques which help them to maintain their class status and which may be a springboard for higher status.

There are certain expectations which are unconsciously followed: there must be a Negro maid or cook at least for part-time work in the home. The woman must have sufficient leisure to demonstrate that she is not of the lowest working class. The family should possess a telephone and radio, and if at all possible, an automobile and television set. These are all symbols of a rising standard of living and are not necessarily objects which of themselves give utility and enjoyment.

The cultural environment has been so thoroughly impregnated with the value of upward social mobility that many of these women are not even aware of its impact upon their religious beliefs and practices. This influence may be best demonstrated in the manner in which they fail to practice the virtues of charity, neighbourliness and justice in the community. These are certainly important components of the religious life, but they are not so formalized as church attendance by adolescents and organizational participation by adult males.

In the first place, the presence of a lower caste, the Negroes, makes it possible for these women to exploit their own status. An unreasonably low pay is given to maids and cooks. The cleft in the community between whites and Negroes is widened by the refusal to associate with Negro women or to allow their own children to play with Negro children.

Except in extreme instances, as accident or sudden death, these adult females do not lend assistance to neighbors (nor do they expect any in return). If the neighbours have sickness in the family. they should hire a nurse: if they need someone to watch the children for a few hours, they should hire a baby-sitter. In fact, the concept of a willing neighbour always ready to assist others is interpreted in one of two ways: either the woman is an inquisitive interferer or she is a foolish person unacquainted with the standardized habits of the community.

This seems a clear example of the manner in which the cultural environment interferes with the practice of the Christian virtues even when an individual Catholic woman may deliberately seek to defy that environment. Here again, only the relatively static woman, who is unwilling or unable to follow the demands of her class position, may be found trying to pursue the Christian virtues to their fullness. Some of these do exist in the parish, but they are exceptions. They are "odd." They do not appreciate how people ought to act. The general result is that the large majority of women in this class conform to the institutionalized class patterns and neglect the social virtues of religion.

In conclusion a warning must be offered to the effect that the complete analysis of institutional influence on the parochial behavior of Catholics is much more complex than it may seem in the above pages. It involves a conflict between the religious institution and a series of secular institutions, between the perennial Christian value system and the volatile modern value system, as well as between the individual parishioner and the various institutional complexes in which he exists.

The institutional environment has a much greater influence than most Catholics seem willing to admit. On the other hand there is a growing awareness of this influence by many careful social observers. Resistance to the institutional environment is possible on the part of holy individuals who recognize its presence and its power. St. Mary's parish, like almost every other parish, contains such relatively isolated individuals.

From our own parochial research it seems clear that the religious patterns of thought and behavior must become reformed and reinstitutionalized by the various statuses in the parish. Personal resistance to the secular environment almost demands the price of idiosyncracy. Status resistance means the development of cultural patterns that are shared in each category by at least a few adolescents, a few male workers, a few adult females, Religious reformers cannot escape this sociological fact.

Some Observations on Mixed Marriages in the United States

by John L. Thomas, S. J.

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Although the study of religious practice in any population is fraught with manifold obstacles, the problems presented in this regard by the United States seem almost insurmountable. It is not merely the sheer magnitude of the task, presupposing as it does that the huge population of over 150.000.000 people spread over a vast territory be adequately sampled. With the use of proper statistical methods and equipment this obstacle could be overcome. Rather, it is due to the fact that during the last century and a quarter, the country has experienced an expansion and growth in population perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world. This spectacular growth has been characterized by great mobility not only territorially across the country, but also, socially, where it has been both horizontal and vertical. A still more distressing characteristic of this growth from the point of view of the religious analyst, is its amazing racial, national, ethnic, and religious heterogeneity. The analogy of the "melting pot" is no fiction, and though it has been boiling for over a century, gradually melting down barriers and fusing racial, national, ethnic and religious minorities into some kind of a political and social homogeneity, the process is still in its inchoative stages since there are large national minorities it has scarcely touched, and no catalytic agent has yet been found to start the absorption of some of the racial minorities.

¹ Born in 1910 at Berlin (Wisconsin, U. S. A.), John L. Thomas took his bachelor's degree in 1933 (St. Louis University), M. A. in 1935, diploma in French literature in 1937 (Montreal University). After the examination for licenciate in theology (St. Mary's College, Kansas), Fr. Thomas studied sociology at the St. Louis University and at that of Chicago. In 1949 he acquired the doctorate in philosophy. Member of the "Institute of Social Order," Fr. Thomas is also professor at the Department of Sociology (University of St. Louis). — Address: St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A. (Editor's note).

I. Prolegomena to the Study of the Church in the United States.

All of these difficulties, and some others, face the student of Catholic religious practice in the United States. In any consideration of the Church in America, certain facts must be kept clearly in mind. In the first place, Catholics are a minority group. Although they are the largest single religious group in the United States, when compared with the Protestants and non-professing groups, they are a minority. Roughly speaking they number between 25.000.000 to 30.000.000 out of a total population of 150.000.000. Further, the Catholic Church is an immigrant Church. It is an immigrant Church growing and stabilizing itself in a country where the "host" or dominant culture is and has ever been traditionally Protestant. A glance at the statistics available, inadequate as they admittedly are, will illustrate this point. ²

Table I

Catholic immigration and the growth of the Church by decades.

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Decade	Catholic	Catholic
	Population	* Immigration
		During Decade
1790	35.000	
1820	195.000	77.000
1830	318.000	54.000
1840	663.000	240.000
1850	1.606.000	700.000
1860	3.103.000	985.000
1870	4.504.000	741.000
1880	6.259.000	604.000
1890	8.909.000	1.250.000
1900	12.041.000	1.225.000
1910	16.363.000	2.316.000
1920	19.828.000	1.202.000

Table I shows the Catholic Church in the United States growing from a mere handful of 35.000 scattered throughout the colonies in 1790 to the largest religious group in the country in 1920. Further, it is clear that this growth was chiefly due to the heavy influx of Catholic immigrants who arrived at first from the northern European countries and then from Central and Southern Europe. A large percentage of these immigrants were located in the lower

² Gerald Shaughnessy, *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* (New York: The MacMillan Press, 1925.)

ranks of the socio-economic scale. Many, especially the last great wave which started arriving about the turn of the century, were further handicapped by the language barrier. The fact, however, that most of these immigrants had to start at the bottom of the economic ladder is often forgotten. Although they have been a highly mobile group taken as a whole, it necessarily took some time for them to achieve higher economic and social status. This process was further retarded among those groups who spoke an alien tongue. These found themselves in an ambivalent position. On the one hand, there could be little social and economic mobility unless they acquired mastery of English; on the other hand, they were reluctant to drop their mother tongue since they considered this a repudiation of their ancestral culture. As a consequence, many of them have tended to remain apart from the rest of the population, dwelling in relative territorial and cultural segregation. They have established their own churches and parochial schools, and in some instances, it would seem they have regarded their language, culture and religion as one inseparable composite so that one cannot drop one element without rejecting the other two.

Another fact that must be kept in mind in dealing with the Catholic Church in America, is that of the distribution of its members. Approximately 80 per cent of the Catholic population is found in 20 per cent of the territory. Roughly speaking, this is the area north of the Ohio River and East of the Mississippi region. The other 20 per cent are scattered throughout the remaining 80 per cent of the territory. The effects of such a distribution on the practice of the faith, must be obvious to any student of the sociology of

religion.

Finally, it should be noted that the Catholic Church in America is largely an urban Church. According to the 1940 census reports, approximately 43 per cent of the population of the country were classified as rural. This includes both the rural-farm (23.2) and rural-nonfarm (20.5) population. By definition, rural-farm population includes all persons living on farms in rural areas. A farm consists of all the land operated by one person, provided it includes three acres or more or provided it produced a total of agricultural products valued at \$ 250 or more during the year in question. Rural-nonfarm population includes all persons dwelling in rural areas who are not living on farms. For the Catholic population, only 19.4 per cent are classified as rural (farm and non-farm) and according to estimates of The Catholic Rural Life Conference, only about 8 per cent of the Catholics now live on the land as full-

time farmers. ³ It seems almost trite to signalize the significance of this concentration of Catholics in the city. The secularizing tendencies of urbanization are a commonplace in modern literature. However, it is necessary to point out here that the evil effects of this concentration of the Catholic immigrant in large industrial centers have been somewhat mitigated by other important factors. Concentration has made possible the construction of a church and school system without parallel in the world. There is some question that this could have been managed if the Catholic immigrants had been dispersed equally throughout the country on their arrival. Even today in the 9.641 Catholic rural parishes and missions only 17.9 per cent have Catholic elementary schools and 3.2 per cent have Catholic high schools. ⁴

2. Mixed Marriage Rates.

Now that we have established our general "frame of reference" for dealing with the Church in America, let us consider one important problem which faces any minority religious group. This is the problem of interfaith or "mixed" marriage. We shall confine our treatment to valid mixed marriage since our primary interest lies in the incidence of these unions. Further, there is considerable difficulty involved in getting adequate data on the number of invalid mixed marriages for the total population, because the religion of the parties to the contract is not stated in the public record of marriages. Consequently, we have to obtain our information on all types of invalid marriages from parish censuses. By the very nature of the case, these are likely to be inadequate since many Catholics living in an invalid marriage conceal their religious background. Further, these unions are by nature rather unstable so that the number of invalid mixed marriages existing at any one time does not reveal the invalid mixed marriage rate. In one of our studies covering 6.744 divorces in which Catholics were concerned, we discovered that 60.4 per cent were invalid marriages in the first place. Not all of these were necessarily invalid mixed marriages, of course. Nevertheless, it is known from samples that have been taken that a good percentage of them were invalid mixed marriages. It is difficult to state the percentage of invalid mixed marriages existing throughout the country. A survey was made of all the mixed marriages to be found in 132 parishes well distrib-

³ A Survey of Catholic Weakness (Des Moines, Iowa, A Publication of the National Rural Life Conference 1948), 10-11.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

uted throughout the Middle-West and East. Of the total number of mixed marriages, it was discovered that 39.6 per cent were invalid marriages. If this ratio holds for the entire country it would be easy to figure out the number from the data on valid mixed marriages which will be presented in this paper.

During the past two decades the valid mixed marriage rate for the country as a whole has been running between 25 and 30 per cent. The rates show great variation for different sections of the country, ranging from as high as over 70 per cent for the dioceses of Raleigh, Savannah-Atlanta, and Charleston, to as low as less than 10 per cent in Corpus Christi and the Archdiocese of Santa Fe. What are the factors which produce this wide variation in rates? Our studies reveal that the following three factors, among others, are operating.

3. Factors Involved in Variation of Mixed Marriage Rates.

The first factor is the proportion of Catholics in the total population. There is an obvious tendency for the rate of valid mixed marriages to increase as the percentage of Catholics in the population decreases. Consider, for example, the rates for the following archdioceses and dioceses. We present the extreme cases of high and low percentages of Catholics in the population. ⁵

Table II

Percentage of Catholics in the population and mixed marriage rates for selected Archdioceses and Dioceses of U.S.A.

District	Percentage of Catholics	Mixed Marriage Rate
Archdiocese		
Indianapolis	8.9	43.9
Portland	10.2	46.7
Denver	12.6	36.9
Louisville	13.6	43.3
Los Angeles	14.9	36.9
San Antonio	35.7	13.2
Chicago	36.9	19.1
Newark	40.6	17.6
New Orleans	43.8	25.1
Santa Fe	47.7	9.4

⁵ Data gathered from the Official Catholic Directory for the Year of Our Lord 1949, Giving the Status of the Catholic Church as of January 1, 1949. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1949.)

Di

Charleston .8 Savannah-Atlanta .9 Nashville I.I Little Rock I.8 Natchez 2.0 Springfield (Mass.) 47.0 Buffalo 48.9 Providence 54.6 Lafayette (La.) 63.9	
Savannah-Atlanta .9 Nashville 1.1 Little Rock 1.8 Natchez 2.0 Springfield (Mass.) 47.0 Buffalo 48.9 Providence 54.6 Lafayette (La.) 63.9	73.8
Nashville 1.1 Little Rock 1.8 Natchez 2.0 Springfield (Mass.) 47.0 Buffalo 48.9 Providence 54.6 Lafayette (La.) 63.9	72.5
Little Rock 1.8 5 Natchez 2.0 6 Springfield (Mass.) 47.0 2 Buffalo 48.9 2 Providence 54.6 1 Lafayette (La.) 63.9 1	71.6
Natchez 2.0 Springfield (Mass.) 47.0 Buffalo 48.9 Providence 54.6 Lafayette (La.) 63.9	52.8
Springfield (Mass.) 47.0 2 Buffalo 48.9 2 Providence 54.6 1 Lafayette (La.) 63.9 1	57.2
Buffalo 48.9 2 Providence 54.6 1 Lafayette (La.) 63.9 1	0.4
Providence	4.3
Lafayette (La.)	8.0
Early occo (Ear.)	4.3
Compus Christi	6.6
Corpus Christi 71.4	8.9
	1.6

Of course that there is a negative correlation between the percentage of Catholics in the total population and the percentage of mixed marriages is readily understood but the fact is worthy of being pointed out for two reasons. First, there are those who talk about mixed marriage rates as if they were fairly standardized across the country, thus implying that the same factors were equally operative in the various districts. Second, there are others who consider that the mixed marriage rate depends almost entirely on the percentage of Catholics in the total population. How oversimplified such a view is, can be seen from considering a few of the rates. For example, the Diocese of Buffalo has a Catholic population of 48.9 per cent and a mixed marriage rate of 28.0 per cent; whereas the Archdiocese of Santa Fe has a Catholic population of 47.7 per cent and a mixed marriage rate of 9.4. The Archdiocese of Washington has a Catholic population of 15.3 per cent and a mixed marriage rate of 53.7 per cent; whereas the Archdiocese of Los Angeles has a Catholic population of 14.9 per cent and a mixed marriage rate of 36.9. These examples are sufficient proof that other factors beside the percentage of Catholics in the total population are operative in determining the mixed marriage rate.

The second factor is that the presence of cohesive ethnic groups is related to mixed marriage rates. Wherever such groups were found to exist in large numbers, the mixed marriage rates were relatively low. We found this to be true whether we were dealing with strictly "national" parishes or parishes in which a majority of families were known to belong to some particular ethnic group. The reason for this is the very marked tendency of ethnic groups to ingroup marriage. Recent studies carried out on the factors involved in marriage selection in individual cities and states show clearly this tendency of national minorities to

ingroup marriage. ⁶ Further, where intergroup marriage does occur it tends to take place between members of minorities having a similar culture. ⁷ Since the culture is closely related to the religion of these groups, intercultural marriage means interfaith marriage. To illustrate, it is obvious that if a Pole or an Italian marries one of his own group, the chances are very high that he will be marrying in the same faith. In a study of 7000 broken Catholic marriages we discovered the following ethnic characteristics in regard to in-group marriage. ⁸

Table III

Percentage of in-group marriage according to nationality and sex.

Nationality	Husband	Wife
Polish	84.1	68.8
Italian	60.8	60.8
Irish	60.2	57.8
German		50.2
Others	49.3	50.3

These figures are based on a study of a large mid-west urban center so that the rates for the various national groups are verified only for that locality and must not be taken as indicative of national ingroup marriage for the country as a whole. Nevertheless, the study does corroborate our hypothesis.

The rate of valid mixed marriage for the same group is even more indicative of ethnic differences. 9

⁶ Cf. Milton L. Barron, *People Who Intermarry* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1946); James H. S. Bossard, 'Nationality and Nativity as Factors in Marriage, 'American Sociological Review, 4 (Dec. 1939), 792-798; Thomas C. Harr, 'Occupational Status and Marriage Selection,' American Sociological Review, 5 (August 1940), 495-504; Maurice R. Davie and Ruby Jo Reeves, 'Propinquity of Residence Before Marriage, 'American Journal of Sociology, 44 (Jan. 1939), 510-517.

⁷ Cf. W. Lloyd Warner & Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945); Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 146-159; Constantine Panunzio, 'Intermarriage in Los Angeles, 1924-1933, 'American Journal of Sociology, 47 (March 1942), 690-701.

[.] B John L. Thomas, Some of the Factors Involved in the Breakdown of Catholic Marriage (Unpublished Doctor's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1949), p. 126.

⁹ Ibid., p. 127.

TABLE IV

Percentage of infaith and interfaith marriage for four national groups.

Type

Nationality

Polish	Italian	Irish	German	All Cases
97.4	95.4	90.9	67.6	75.9
-4	.7	6.3	15.7	12.7
.9	1.5	9	7.4	4.5
1.3	2.3	1.8	9.3	6.8
	97·4 ·4 ·9	97.4 95.4 .4 .7 .9 1.5	.4 .7 6.3 .9 1.59	97.4 95.4 90.9 67.6 .4 .7 6.3 15.7 .9 1.59 7.4

In general it can be stated that the rate at which any given ethnic minority will enter into marriage outside the group will depend on the size and relative isolation of the ethnic minority and the similarity of culture between the dominant or "host" group and the minority.

A third factor is that there seems to be a positive correlation between what may be called socioeconomic class and mixed marriage rates in large urban centers. Using rental areas as a gage of socioeconomic class, we have studied several different urban centers which seem to support our hypothesis. For example, one study of 51,671 families distributed in 30 parishes of a large urban center gives the following results.

TABLE V

Rental area and mixed marriage rates for urban centers. Rental Areas Percentage of Mixed Marriage Lower 8.5 Mixed lower and middle Q.I Middle 12.0 Mixed middle and upper 16.3 Upper 17.9 Suburban 19.3

If this hypothesis is found to be correct for the country as a whole, and it seems to be corroborated by the studies made on social stratification and mobility, then there is the possibility that ethnic and religious minorities will be diluted from the top. There is real danger that as the Catholic population continues its upward social mobility, it will lose strength through increased interfaith marriage.

The conclusion to be drawn from a consideration of factors two and three is that the two contracting parties tend to be of the same race, nationality, religion, and socioeconomic status. The reason for this is that, as ecologists have shown, the population in large cities tends to be spatially segregated according to these same traits. Looking to the future, it would seem to follow from this that with the multiplicity of cultural contacts afforded by modern communication and mobility, it will become increasingly difficult for ethnic and religious groups to maintain their solidarity and isolation. Urban and industrial life tend more and more to develop personal associations along occupational and social class lines so that marriage selection will be based on these rather than on nationality and religion.

4. Trends in Mixed Marriage

The question is frequently asked as to whether mixed marriages are on the increase. In regard to valid mixed marriages we can answer that they are. Although adequate data are not available for all dioceses, what information there is, shows a steady increase in the rates since 1910. As might be expected, there was a considerable increase during World Wars I and II. Further, it seems safe to predict a continued steady increase in the future. The following considerations are offered in support of this thesis. 1) Interaction between Catholic and non-Catholic groups in schools, occupations, and social life in general appears to be on the increase. 2) In the "melting pot" national differences are gradually being fused with the host culture so that ethnic barriers will tend to lose much of their prohibitive effect on intergroup marriage. Since many of the national groups are largely Catholic and the host group is much less so, this will lead to an increase in mixed marriages. 3) The increase of individualism in the choice of a mate, a trait which is emphasized by all students of the contemporary scene, weakens the prohibitive effect of parent and pastor counciling against such unions. 4) In spite of considerable propaganda against mixed marriages, the attitude of both Catholic and non-Catholic young people toward such unions seems increasingly tolerant if we can trust some of the attitude poles which have investigated student opinion on this point. 10 5) Finally, mixed marriages appear to have a cumulative effect, that is, the children of mixed marriages tend to enter mixed marriages themselves much oftener than children having both parents Catholic.

¹⁰ Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, Building a Successful Marriage, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948, p. 138.

5. Stability of Valid Mixed Marriages.

There is rather universal agreement that interfaith marriages are less stable than infaith marriages. This conclusion finds ample justification in three studies carried out in widely separated areas of the country. Bell 11 in Maryland (13,528 families), Weeks ¹² in Washington (6,548 families), and Landis ¹³ in Michigan (4,108 families) obtained the following information. In all three studies, approximately 5 per cent of the Catholic and Tewish marriages had ended in divorce or separation, 8 per cent of the Protestant marriages, 15 per cent of mixed Catholic-Protestant, and 18 per cent of the marriages in which there was no religious faith. Landis further discovered that the divorce rate had been highest of all in marriages of a Catholic man to a Protestant woman. Twenty-one per cent of these marriages had ended in divorce, while only 7 per cent of marriages in which a Protestant man was married to a Catholic wife had ended in divorce. 14 It should be remarked that the value of these studies is somewhat. limited in that they have dealt with mixed marriages in which there were children. In addition to this, no distinction was made between valid and invalid mixed marriages. From the point of view of stability, it is of paramount importance to know whether one is dealing with valid or invalid marriages. Anyone who has even an elementary grasp of the significance of the religious sanctions imposed on invalid marriages will admit that there is a high probability that such unions will be repudiated eventually by the Catholic party. For example, our studies show that in divorces involving Catholics, 60.4 per cent were invalid marriages in the first place.

Are valid mixed marriages more unstable than Catholic marriages? We feel that the high divorce rate given for mixed marriages is partly due to the large number of invalid marriages to be found among them. We studied all the mixed marriages to be found in 132 parishes distributed throughout the Middle-West and East. Approximately 40 per cent of these were invalid mar-

¹¹ Howard M. Bell, Youth Tell Their Story (Washington: American Council on Education, 1938), p. 21.

¹² H. Ashley WEEKS, 'Differential Divorce Rates by Occupation, 'Social Forces, 21 (March 1943), p. 336.

¹³ Judson T. Landis, 'Marriages of Mixed and Non-mixed Religious Faith,' American Sociological Review, 14 (June 1949), pp. 401-406.

¹⁴ LANDIS, op. cit., p. 403.

riages. More specifically, we studied 30 parishes well distributed throughout the state of Michigan where it is supposed that most of the subjects of the Landis study maintained residence. It was found that 39.2 per cent of all the mixed marriages were invalid. Hence, it must be concluded, until further evidence is forthcoming, that there is little real evidence that a valid mixed marriage is more unstable than a valid Catholic marriage.

It is frequently alleged by students of interfaith marriage that one of the main sources of friction is the religious training of the children. 15 This conclusion would seem to be logical, more or less expected, and certainly in conformity with the prevalent opinion about mixed marriage problems. However, our study of 1.284 broken valid mixed marriages does not substantiate the hypothesis that religious differences directly destroy marital unity. Religious quarrels accounted for only 10.4 per cent of the broken marriages. On the other hand, adultery was a leading factor in the disintegration of the union in over 50 per cent of the cases. On the basis of this study it can be concluded that valid mixed marriages break up not so much over religious differences as manifested in direct quarrels over the religion of the partner and the religious training of the children as in basic disagreement over the very nature of the marriage bond. There can be no doubt that direct disagreement over religion accounts for a great deal of unhappiness in mixed marriages but it remains to be proved that such differences are necessarily disruptive of the union.

6. Effects of Mixed Marriage on Faith of Catholic Partner.

The deleterious effects of mixed marriage on the religious practice of the Catholic party is beyond all question. Generalizing on the basis of our studies, we maintain that the typical picture for valid mixed marriages looks something like the following.

Table VI

Religious activity of parents in valid mixed marriages.

General Family Religious Character	
Fervent	55.0
Lukewarm	20.0
Lapsed	25.0

¹⁵ Landis, op. cit., p. 404; Ray E. Baber, Marriage and the Family (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939), p. 170; Murray H. Leiffer, 'Interfaith Marriages in U. S. A., 'Lumen Vitae, 4 (July-Sept. 1949), pp. 447-451.

Non-Catholic Attitude to Catholic Partner

Assisting	50.0
Indifferent	30.0
Opposing	20.0
Interacting Patterns	
Non-Catholic Keeping Promises toward Catholic	70.0
Catholic Converting Non-Catholic	4.0
Catholic Turning non-Catholic	I.O
Catholic Belonging to Parish Societies	22.0

It will be seen from this that one out of four have lapsed, that is, have ceased to attend mass and the sacraments. Another 20 per cent are lukewarm or attend Church services sporadically. The attitude of the non-Catholic party is "good" in about half the cases and definitely opposed in 20 per cent. For the remaining 30 per cent of the cases, the attitude is one of indifference so that if the faith of the Catholic party is not strong there is likely to be a falling off of religious practice. Finally, it should be remarked that Table 6 does not present the total picture since it is known from the discrepancy which exists between valid mixed marriage rates and the percentage of valid mixed marriages found in the population that there are a considerable number who have so completely severed connection with the Church that they no longer acknowledge even past membership.

7. Effect of Mixed Marriage on the Faith of Offspring.

From the point of view of the Church, one great concern in the perennial problem of mixed marriages has ever been the religious fate of the children born from such unions. What studies have been made of this problem are unanimous in signalizing the great danger to the faith of the offspring that always exists. Our own data uncovered such marked differences from parish to parish that we find it hazardous to venture any precise general conclusions. For instance, it was found that from 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the children born to valid mixed marriages were either unbaptized or baptized as Protestants. There seems to be less opposition to the carrying out of this rite than to the formal Catholic instruction of the children. Forty-five to 50 per cent of the non-Catholic partners failed to observe their pre-marital promises in this regard. Hence a conservative summary of the effect of mixed marriage on the faith of the children would be to state that approximately 40 per cent of all children born to

such unions are either unbaptized, or baptized in a Protestant sect, or baptized only, that is, they receive no formal schooling in the faith. It is impossible to ascertain how much of this failure is due to negligence on the part of the Catholic parent. There is some evidence to prove that the Catholic party will frequently forego sending the children to the Catholic parochial school in order to avoid further arguments over religion.

Although we are not dealing formally with invalid marriages in this paper, nevertheless, since there is a relatively large number of invalid mixed marriages it may serve to complete the overall picture if we add a note on what happens to the offspring of such union. The pattern is not uniform across the country nor even from parish to parish. Generalizing from the data at hand, the following picture emerges. Approximately 30 per cent of the children are not baptized. Another 13 per cent are baptized as Protestants. The remainder are baptized but their chances of receiving a Catholic education in a parochial school are very small. The only exception seems to be those cases where a relatively fervent Catholic has become involved in a union which cannot be validated. Although such Catholics do not find the strength to rectify their own position, they frequently are quite solicitous about the religious instruction of their children.

8. Conclusion.

The Catholic Church in America is a large minority group existing in a predominantly non-Catholic country. Its amazing growth, like that of the country as a whole, has been due to the tremendous influx of immigrants who continued to stream into the country for almost a century until the passing of the restrictive immigration laws in the twenties. The Catholic immigrants were not dispersed equally throughout the vast territory but tended to settle in the large urban centers located in the East and the Great Lakes region. This concentration enabled them to guard their solidarity and a certain amount of isolation. They built up their Church and school system alongside of the dominant Protestant social structure. Since many of the immigrants cherished their native language and culture, they established sub-groups having relatively great solidarity, within the Church itself.

But the "melting pot" has never ceased boiling with the

But the "melting pot" has never ceased boiling with the result that all barriers, national, ethnic, and religious, are gradually tending to disappear. This has special significance for the problem of mixed marriage. The rate of mixed marriages depends

on the three factors of percentage of Catholics in the total population, the presence of cohesive ethnic groups, and social mobility. Since the ethnic groups are growing less cohesive and social mobility continues to operate, it is safe to predict a gradual steady increase in the rate of mixed marriages.

Mixed marriages, even when they are valid mixed marriages, present a serious threat to the faith of the Catholic party and the offspring. This is evidenced by the number of lapsed and lukewarm Catholics found in such unions as well as in the number of children born to these marriages who are either unbaptized or uneducated in the Catholic religion. It is not within the compass of this paper to suggest remedies for this situation. However, if remedies are sought they must take into consideration all the factors mentioned here or else they will remain ineffective.

An Inquiry into Conditions in Latin America Influencing the Religious and Moral Life of Working Classes in Bogota

by George KIBÉDI
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I. TRANSFORMATION OF A MILIEU

1. The disturbances of the 9th April 1948.

The riots which took place at the time of the Panamerican Conference held at Bogota in 1948 — the assassination of the popular leader of the Left, Jorge Gaitan, on the 9th April and the incendiarism, burglaries, destruction of the centre of the capital, the chaos of those days, caused a "spiritual" shock in many of the social circles of the nation. It became apparent to them that "the Catholic people" were not as religious or as satisfied with their social position as many had lazily imagined.

Parish priests in the poorest districts report that for some weeks there was great consternation and "good intentions about social reform." Ladies from the residential quarters of the city came down in their luxurious cars to bring milk, food and money for the poor...

But as public order was re-established, uneasiness subsided and interest in social welfare diminished.

The same thing happened as in Spain after the miners revolution in Asturia (October 1934) and after the civil war (1939): some attributed the actions of the "people" to "their innate perversity" and demanded that more police measures be taken against the proletariat, while others, including statesmen, priests, teachers and young people, began to have qualms of conscience.

¹ See p. 147.

The University was the obvious body for carrying out an enquiry of a detailed and scientific kind as to the conditions of life of the people and the necessary reforms. The youth of the universities could surely do this under the guidance of sociological professors. But everyone who knows the university routine of this country understands easily that conditions were not carried out either by the professors or the students.

Fortunately, some men were desirous of making contact with the populace, studying their particular problems and training teachers capable of helping the workers to better their spiritual and temporal lot. They united their efforts. This was the origin of the *Sociedad de Sociología* which we gave an account of in an-

other article. 2

2. Changes in the living conditions of Bogota — social unrest.

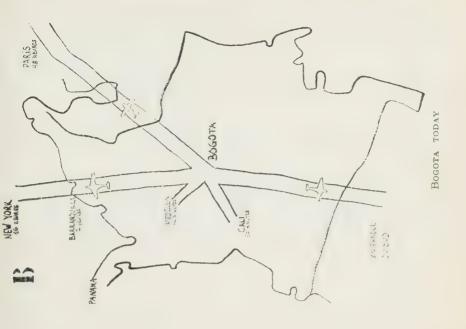
Bogota was founded in 1538 by Jiménez de Quesada. It stands at an altitude of 2.600 metres, is 7.500 kilometres from the Caribbean Sea (the port of Baranquilla) and 3.000 kms from the Pacific Ocean (the port of Buenaventura). The capital has developed slowly and smoothly. It was not easy to reach, either from foreign countries or from the other parts of Colombia, owing to the high mountains and various difficulties of communications.

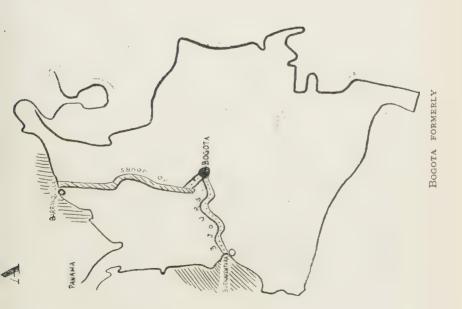
Aviation has put an end to this tranquil evolution. Bogota, formerly 20 or 30 days' journey from the sea, has now suddenly become close to the ports and great cities of the world. From Baranquilla it now only takes two hours' flight to reach the capital; New York is 16 hours' away; Paris two days.

The influx of people, events and ideas has produced great transformations. Owing to the unrest in Europe and the second world war, industrialists, business men, agricultural technicians, artists, writers and professors have immigrated. New industries have sprung up. Before the war Bogota was only a large village with small colonial-built houses and oldfashioned ideas. Now aviation has rapidly turned it into an important town with a great future.

A rural exodus set in. People came to find employment in the factories. After the 9th April 1948 (the assassination of Gaitan and the political troubles) there was political insecurity in the country and the fear of massacre drove the villagers to flee into the capital where there was less risk.

² See in this issue: Religious Sociology in Latin America, pp. 147-153.





It was obviously impossible to house them and give them work and sanitary conditions immediately. Tens of thousands of families had come to the city. In 1938, the population of Bogota was 300.000; today it is double. The overcrowded suburbs are the scene of great confusion: public health and security, morals, religion and politics, all presented problems which grew daily more acute.

II. ENQUIRIES OF GENERAL SOCIOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY

It seems important to us to form teams of technicians animated by a truly Christian social spirit to enquire into the social evils under which the working classes of Bogota are labouring. The "Sociedad de Sociología" made its first investigations in the proletarian suburbs: the Perseverancia district, the Gaitan quarter and that of Restrepo.

I. The subject of the enquiries.

Guided by our previous experiences, we drew up a plan of research, of which the principal points are as follows:

- 1. The origin and social surroundings of the workers in Bogota. Causes and methods of immigration. The extent of the rural exodus; the "deserted villages."
 - 2. Culture and training of the immigrants.
 - 3. Profession and employment.
 - 4. Housing.
 - 5. Work and conditions of work.
 - 6. Receipts and expenditure.
 - 7. Standard of living.
 - 8. Family and home.
 - 9. Food.
 - 10. Hygiene.
 - 11. Child welfare.
 - 12. Illiteracy.
 - 13. Scholastic education.
 - 14. Parochial training and religious practice.
 - 15. The social groupings and the neighbourhood.
 - 16. Recreations.
 - 17. Drink.
 - 18. Prostitution and venereal diseases.
 - 19. Vagrancy and juvenile delinquency.
 - 20. Break-up of family life.
 - 21. Criminality.



^{3.} RESTREPO

- 22. Diseases and medical services.
- 23. Social and political groups, alliances and conflicts.
- 24. The opinions, desires and mentality of the inhabitants.
- 25. Public welfare services either social, economic, cultural, religious, civic, medical, etc.

2. Recruiting and training of investigators.

To carry out such a scheme, it was absolutely necessary to collect persons who were interested in the work, possessed of the requisite technical knowledge and who were above all animated with a spirit of self-sacrifice and perseverance. For it would take years to gain the confidence of these derelict districts, deceived so often by demagogues and the false promises of politicians. And,

in the tropics, perseverance is rare to find.

From the first we had to avoid the appearance of being members of a particular class or political party and to proceed objectively and scientifically. Our first enquiries undertaken with the help of doctors, teachers, sociologists and students, were workingclass dwellings, illiteracy, lack of professional training and the break-up of family life. Fortunately our first publications, about our scheme of work and our findings, ³ brought us offers of help which were most useful from various social and professional circles: lawyers, economists, students of the Universidad Nacional, and the Escuela Normal Superior, the Universidad Javeriana, the Universidad de los Andes, together with girls from the two Escuelas de Servicio Social, religious of different orders, town planners, leaders of social organisations already in existence.

We tested these newcomers by giving them difficult missions in order to select real militants for our cause. In this way we were able to form mixed teams, similar to those which we had witnessed in Roumania, Hungary, Belgium and France. ⁴

³ Jorge Kibédi, La sociología monográfica en la Europa Central' in Revista Javeriana, no. 164 (May 1950). — Jorge Kibédi, Política social: Ideas y fuerzas. Investigaciones sociologicas en el Barrio de La Perseverancia, in Revista Javeriana, no. 166 (July 1950). — Jorge Kibédi, Urbanismo y planificación. Economia y Humanismo. Estudio de la comunidad, in Revista Javeriana, no. 168 (September 1950).

⁴ D. Gusti, Sociologia Militans (Bucarest). — Conde Pablo Teleki and professor Zoltan Magyary: Enquiries at Kemse, Tata (Hungary). — The world investigations of the review Lumen Vitae: Influence of the milieu on religious life. — The experiences of the Catholic International Movement «Économie et Humanisme», methods used by the teams of the Institut International d'Économie Humaine and the study sessions at La Tourette.

Our chief concern is to create a real friendship among the members of our mixed groups. We want to work in groups, help each other and mutually instruct one another so as to be able to work in the best way for the christianisation of the people and to raise them spiritually and economically.

To create this *esprit de corps*, it was necessary to free the town planners, teachers, lawyers, doctors, from their professional bias;

they had to be shown the need for knowledge of man.

Before undertaking a research into a particular question, we gather a documentation. This is done by our *sociological seminary*. We consult a scientific synthesis of thought embracing all specialised knowledge.

Parallel to our practical work on the different social problems, we organised a *permanent sociological seminary*, with the object of collecting with the help of all a preliminary *documentation* on the exact terms of our researches. For this aim we consult

1. The best specialists in each question,

- 2. The official or private organisations engaged in the study of the particular section,
 - 3. The chief publications on the subject,
 - 4. The articles and other documents bearing on these matters.

This gathering of experience allows us to prepare and improve the questionnaires as to some local sector, or particular problem.

III. THE FIRST RESULTS OF THE ENQUIRY

I. The uprooted persons. Motives of the rural exodus.

The villages, formerly isolated and rooted in custom, have been invaded by the cinema, radio, motorbuses, cars and the news brought in by boys and girls working at Bogota as servants or manual workers. A thousand enquiries made in the town among the people originating in the country districts and in some twenty neighbouring villages witness to the effect of the cinema and of gossip. The peasants are struck by the contrast between their lot and the comforts of the town; they no longer want to "vegetate" in the village where their children cannot be educated, doctors are rare and the dwellings inconvenient, often without

water or light. There is nothing for it but to go to Bogota and

"try our luck."

A curious thing is that these families, worse lodged at Bogota than in their birthplaces, do not want to return to work on the land. The town atmosphere fascinates them, and they go on hoping that sooner or later they will find a settled occupation and better pay.

During recent years, as we have said, the political tension and strife have made the situation worse in the countryside. In thousands, people have poured into Bogota to find more safety. They have sold or abandoned everything: houses, land, cattle,

to flee from political vengeance or brigands.

These political considerations hinder any return. The people must find a solution in the capital, settle down and start their lives again.

In consequence there are today hundreds of "dead villages" in Boyaca, the Santanders, the Valle. These districts are depopulated; the most active and most fecund — men and women between 15 and 35 — have gone; and in each of the remaining categories from infancy to old age numbers have diminished.

The government and authorities are quite aware of the seriousness of the situation. But only far-reaching reforms aiming at the raising of the standard of living and the public security of the country can put an end to this exodus so fatal to agriculture.

2. A proletarian mass with no calling.

When questioned as to their intentions and proficiency, the newcomers almost automatically answer: "We are ready to do

anything anywhere "...

Fifty per cent of the immigrants cannot read or write, either because they have never been to school or because they have completely forgotten what little they once knew. An enquiry amongst industrial workers brought to light the fact that only 20% had received any training before entering the factory.

There is very little professional pride. Labour turn-over is tragic and comical: in the south of the town (Bravo Páez, Inglés, Claret, Santa Lucia), the great majority of the men had had no less than ten jobs in the course of the ten last years. Here are two typical cases:

P. M. aged 33. Occupations: buttonmaker, shoemaker, porter, shopman, chauffeur, trader in foodstuffs, policeman, mason, gardener.



" SUNDAY HUTS

So called because the men take advantage of the leisure hours of Sundays to run up a shelter with a few bricks, boards and corrugated iron.





CARRYING WATER

This task is no sinecure when it is necessary to go long distances to fetch it or resign oneself to paying dearly for a few litres.



THE STREET IS THEIR SCHOOL

The parents are working at the factory and for four fifths of the children in the working class districts there is no school available.

F. G. M. aged 34. Occupations: carpenter, mason, factory hand, hawker, bus conductor, jailer, master in a primary school, proprietor of a billiard saloon, trader.

This lack of continuity and tradition in employment is a South-American disease affecting every social class. Ministers come and go. Technicians, teachers, clerks are continually on the move to most dissimilar jobs. As there are no careers, anybody may be dismissed anywhere at any moment. It leads to superficiality: they are jacks of all trades and masters of none. Any job is taken; when you have got it, you start to pick up something about it.

In consequence of this *anarchic* state of affairs, administration consists of a series of initiatives doomed to failure. No long-term planning can succeed.

3. The homeless.

Getting our ideas from the Lebret system of the Institut International d'Économie Humaine (Lyons, Paris), we started in 1950 a survey of the typical houses in the workingclass districts of Bogota. After enquiries in different quarters we settled on the area in which to work and took down the exact details of 600 workingclass dwellings.

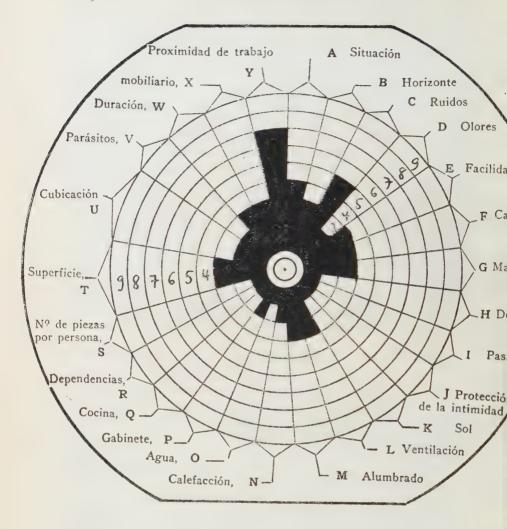
We studied them on the lines suggested by Économie et Humanisme: the situation, view, noises, smells, materials used for construction, etc. Our observations were expressed by the figures I to IO and later embodied in a diagram, blackening the sector reserved to each of the above points from the centre to a circle bearing the appropriate number (I, 2, 3, 4, etc.). We here reproduce two of these diagrams: one corresponds to a rich man's house (a very high figure is recorded for every point and consequently the sectors are nearly all black), the other to a working-class house (the figures are very low and therefore the sector is hardly coloured).

We will describe our results point by point. The commonest deficiencies whose influence is decisive on family life, recreation, morals and religion, can be summed up as follows:

A. Situation. -30 % of the houses visited give straight on to the street; the visitor has only to go down a few steps (not all the houses have them) in order to find himself in the family bedroom. The dust and dirt of the street, besides the rain when it is heavy, come into the houses, for in most cases there are no windows and the family have to keep the door open in order to do any work.

27% of the houses had a court (nearly always without any paving). Sheds were against the walls, built of wood or galvanised iron. In these 'Sunday' houses (they were usually built on that day) live the families;

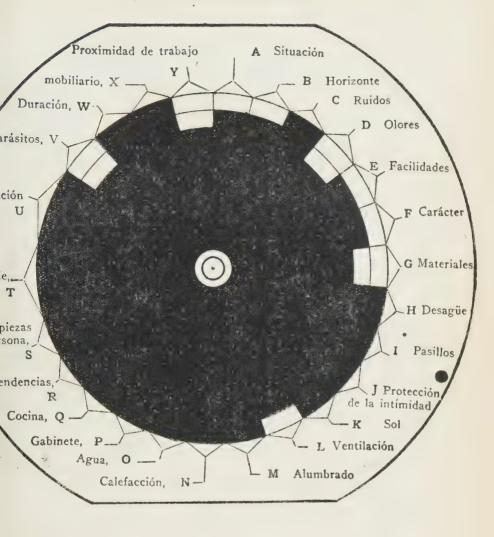
generally there is only one bed, two at the most.



^{18 %} were lodgings for workers. There is a long passage with little dark rooms opening off them. Usually one family in each room.

^{23%} of the 600 families live in houses built for one household: each family inhabits one room as a rule.

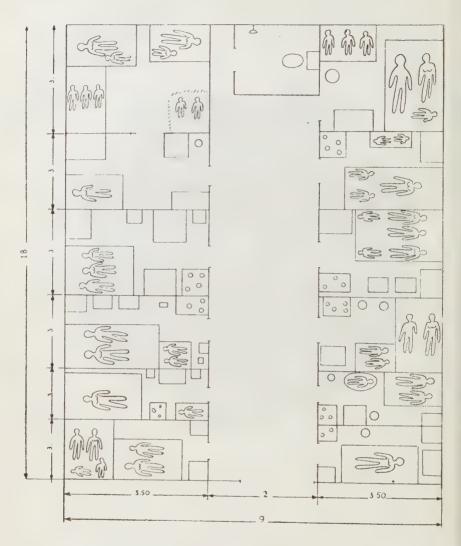
B. View. — Certain houses, as we have said, open directly on to the street. The outlook is not attractive; the dusty road with its tramways, cars, pedestrians, brawls, and perhaps a bar on the pavement opposite.



Others have no windows at all. Then look over a little court-yard where the neighbours do their cooking and washing. The home is filled with the noises and disputes going on all round.

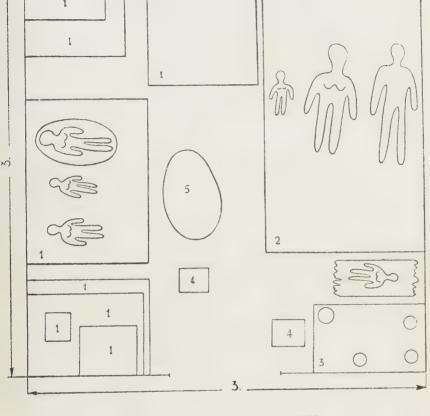
Many other lodgings are close up against the wall of a large house. The only possible view is of a sooty wall. It obstructs the sunshine which might at times have entered.

This desolation together with other factors of which we will treat later,



LODGINGS FOR WORKERS

A long passage with little dark rooms opening off them.



ONE ROOM FOR A FAMILY OF 7 PERSONS

1. Boxes (for clothes). — 2. Beds. — 3. Stove. — 4. Seats. — 5. Table.

drives the workers to get away whenever possible: they go to the nearest bar for a drink, they seek distractions always away from "home," which for thousands of families is only a place to sleep in.

- C. Noises. From the above description it will be realised that all the noises caused by traffic, domestic quarrels, incessant crying of the babies of the neighbourhood, the nocturnal sessions in the cafés destroy the intimacy of the workers' hearth. On the one hand there is no way of resting quietly, and on the other, no privacy of conversation and a general atmosphere most harmful to young and adult alike.
- D. Smells. These huddled dwellings take in all the smells from nearby kitchens. Where there is a common courtyard, all the inhabitants suffer from their neighbours' cooking. Another disagreable smell comes from the unsanitary W. C.
- F. Characteristics. The chief characteristic is a total lack of all aesthetic, family and hygienic training. The rooms are filthy. The women have no idea of keeping their abodes neat and tidy. The walls are covered with pictures cut out of periodicals, portraits of films stars, holy pictures and nicknacks. In the "La Perseverancia" quarter we encountered images of Our Lady of Fatima side by side with Jorge Gaitan, the atheist leader.

For lack of space, the women put things down anywhere, which makes the place look in perpetual disorder and confusion. Cleanliness is not attempted; dirt and filth of all sorts piles up amid the ancient furniture, a breeding ground for lice.

- G. Building materials. These are usually mud, boards, galvanised iron and, in the lodging houses, bad quality bricks. The wind penetrates them and in winter they are very damp. All this brings on rheumatism, and tuberculosis, and lessens the working capacity of the inhabitants.
- H. Drains. The drains are very primitive; often the contents of the sanitary arrangements flow straight into the street and the women throw out their slops and refuse.

Our researches led us to the same conclusion as those of the municipal Hygiene and Social Services department: namely that these conditions are largely responsible for the spread of disease. Children and animals rummaging about among the accumulated rubbish spread bacteria everywhere.

- J. Safeguarding privacy. When there is only one room, and in many cases only one bed, for the family, it is obvious that privacy is non-existent. The very low level of morality among the workers is no doubt the result of this factor.
- P. Sanitary arrangements. In every quarter visited the number of W. Cs is insufficient for the inhabitants. They are often in a bad state and are hot-beds of infection. In some places, there is no water or drainage system. In other places, there is nothing at all, and people use some nearly waste ground.

- Q. Kitchen. Another hardship is the absence of any kitchen; either the room serves also as bedroom and washplace, or the kitchen is communal and badly built, or, again, there is a stove outside (in the court or even the street) and the smoke and soot get into the food. The bad quality of the cooking can be imagined.
- R. Other rooms. There is no bathroom, lavatory or larder in most of the houses.
- S. Number of persons per room. In the dwellings examined the general average was five. In 30 families, we came across 10 persons per room. One bed is usually slept in by three and latterly, during the political flight from the country, this number was increased.
- V. Parasites. These abound in every house without exception: fleas, bugs, etc. The lack of air, sun and hygiene are the chief causes of this most unpleasant affliction which is the cause of numerous diseases.
- X. Furniture. This is very poor and incomplete. The only real piece of furniture is the bed, always wooden. If there are any tables and chairs, they are very primitive. Rarely does one see any cupboards. Clothes are kept in boxes and trunks which also serve as seats and tables.

4. Moral and religious consequences.

On their arrival in Bogota, the rural immigrants were deeply religious and endowed with a strong moral healthiness. These peoples with patriarchal customs were greatly attached to their traditions. The parish had been their communal centre for religion, culture, social activities and also politics.

In the suburbs, the immigrants no longer formed part of a community; they also found themselves deprived of civil and

religious society.

The inhabitants of the "Sunday huts" are only an amorphous crowd of individuals from various places. They are not divided into districts nor parishes. At "La Perseverancia," religious worship is practically the Mass which a priest comes to celebrate on Sunday. In 1948 this population of 16.000 was represented at Mass by a few hundred old men and women (80% were old women). Communions and marriages are rare. The people do not know how to pray. Families come from companionate unions; 75% of the children are not baptised. Everyone finds this quite normal.

In a few months, a few years, religious practice has ceased. On the other hand, the extreme poverty has destroyed morality even removing the sense of sin. Promiscuity in the subhuman dwellings is harmful to every member of the family (it is not a

rare thing for the father to sleep with his eldest daughters, brothers with sisters, and cousins together). More, a home has no protection against the scandals of others. The mother works outside, the children left to themselves in house or street, grow up unlettered and often vicious. Religious ignorance goes with immorality.

Among these unhappy people, consciousness of their misery was aggravated by the tremendous contrast between their hovels, rags and children and the luxury hotels, finery, elegantly dressed children of the nearby residential quarters.

Such are the conclusions reached by the enquirers.

IV. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTION FOLLOWING ON THE ENQUIRY. THE CREATION OF A NEW MILIEU

In 1940 the visits of Jorge Eliecer Gaitan roused a lively interest among the inhabitants of the quarter. He obtained from the municipal authorities certain material ameliorations (pavements, drains), but chiefly gained the esteem of the families by the fact that being an "important" man, a real "doctor," he went into the quarter considered as it is by "all Bogota" as an abode of all vice. Gaitan returned regularly, went into the darkest hovels, talked to the workers, sought to find out what the mothers of families wanted, drank beer in the cafés.

Then, after his assassination, the workers who loved him, be-

came violent. Bogota was in flames for several days.

It was then realised that something must be done for these people. "La Perseverancia" obtained a priest, Fr. Florencio Alvarez, a Jesuit who had before been working in the seaport town of Cartagena. He lived very humbly and began to explore his parish, of which no one knew the number of the inhabitants, nor their occupations. A whole territory to explore, a whole series of material, social, moral and sanitary problems!

Fr. Alvarez soon realised what was chiefly lacking: the *feeling* of belonging to a community, of working shoulder to shoulder with one's comrades on the economical, cultural and moral plane.

That is why the priest began by forming friendly relationships and meetings between groups of different ages and callings: he did not confine his efforts to religion, but tried to help on all occasions.

In order to transform "La Perseverancia" it is necessary first to procure funds for a school, a workshop and a dispensary, and instal a kitchen.

But the question of *staffing* is much the most important. People have to be found who will work daily among this unfortunate populace, unclean and crowded into filthy hovels, on the side of the mountain. Little by little devoted helpers arrive. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul, some charitable ladies of Catholic Action and teams of university students and girls brought up in the two schools of Social Service in Bogota, are helping Fr. Alvarez in questions of a material nature and in catechisms and Sunday schools. A parochial social secretariat has been formed to train apostles to work in this way from among the people.

Anxious to create an élite, Fr. Alvarez nevertheless aims at evangelising the whole district and influencing every family.

This intelligent and devoted apostolate is efficacious.

A legitimate pride is beginning to be born. Instead of being ashamed of living at 'La Perseverancia,' the people are glad to belong to a community, and desirous of transforming their lives, improving their homes, educating themselves and making progress.

Some of the inhabitants are carrying out a real apostolate in

their district.

On First Fridays, the number of communions is on an average 700 to 1.000. 650 persons (chiefly adults and boys and girls of over 10) were baptised in 1950; 178 couples married in church. The services are more frequently attended; about 3.000 persons come to the four Sunday Masses (men of from 20 to 40 are numerous). Two devotions are especially popular: that to Christ the Worker, the patron of the parish church, and to the Blessed Virgin; a statue of our Lady of Fatima dominates the quarter, placed under her protection.

Thus, little by little, the district is being transformed. A human and Christian community is appearing; it is creating a framework which will protect its dignity, safeguard its morality and develop

its religious life.

Influence of the Milieu on the Moral and Religious Life in Chile

Observations; action taken to transform the milieu

by Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga, S. J.

Professor at the Catholic University of Santiago,
National Chaplain of the Catholic Action for Youth,

Founder of the "Hogar de Cristo" 1

I. Observations and action until the last few years. — At the time of the conquest, the missionaries who arrived with the first soldiers clearly recognised the influence of the milieu on religious life. In their zeal for their supernatural mission, they understood the impossibility for the natives to become Catholic if they were to be the victims of the avarice of the "conquistadors" or oppressed by the so-called "personal service," little better than slavery.

The conquest of Chile soon gave place to a series of social struggles. The natives had no defence other than armed risings and the help of the missionaries. These latter strove for the suppression of the obligatory 'personal service' or at least for its reduction or replacement by a levy. They worked also for the 'offensive' war to be made a 'defensive' one and for the Araucans to be resettled in villages where they could be easily instructed. Whoever studies our history attentively and reads the correspondence of the Chilean bishops will understand that almost all have rivalled one another in their efforts for the Indians.

In 1593, the year of the death of Bishop Medellin, the six first Jesuits arrived in Chile. They saw the effect of the personal service

¹ Under the title of Chile, a distant and unknown country, Fr. Hurtado described to readers of Lumen Vitae (III, 1948, pp. 41-64) the stumblingblocks and obstacles to the evangelisation of his country. We then gave a list of the works of the author, a great friend to this periodical. -- Address: Casilla 597, Santiago, Chile (Editor's note).

on the lives of the poor Indians. They condemned the regime which "for no reason reduced free men to servitude and did not give them a sufficient salary for themselves and their family and allow them to save up for the time when they could no longer work." This document dated 1608 in Santiago is of great importance owing to the social principles which it lays down: abolition of slavery (200 years before other nations of more advanced civilisation), recognition of social security, the paying of a living wage, security for old age, compensation for accidents at work, and above all the creation of cordial relations between employers and workmen. Don Domingo Ammategui Solar, little inclined to be friendly towards the Jesuits, says of it: "If the reader did not know the date of it, he might think it was a modern enactment of social assistance and insurance."

After having obtained these fundamental liberties for the native, the Church in Chile concentrated on pastoral work. Serious problems were to be attended to. It embarked on a long war to maintain religious influence on national life. Zealous priests ceaselessly rode on horseback up and down the enormous parishes between the sea and the Cordilleras. They worked hard among the poor and the destitute; great charity was needed and at times heroism. Brought up in a social atmosphere and realising the great difficulties which an eventual change in the régime would entail in the country districts (Chile was exclusively agricultural until this century), the clergy attempted a compromise before the new order arose, fertile in technical problems whose solution they did not know.

As for the influential Catholics, they were imbued with the liberal ideas of the period; not seeing their way to the transformation of the inhuman conditions, they confined their efforts to charitable works in order to remedy the most obvious injustices and misery. It was not until the pronouncements of the Sovereign Pontiff and the bishops that the social problem began to be looked upon as a matter, not only of charity, but of strict justice.

In the present century, the growing industrialisation of the country has aggravated the social question by the creation of a proletariat deprived of a really human existence. During the last thirty years, the population of Santiago has grown from 400,000 to 1,200,000. The lack of adequate housing accommodation has increased in proportion, 400,000 persons at least living in totally insufficient dwellings, most of them not fit for human beings. Absolute promiscuity, under-nourishment, scanty education, religious services purely nominal in many cases, only the extremist ideological movements (usually marxist) interesting themselves in

the economic affairs of the workers... such was the position of the Chilean proletariat until the last few years.

2. Recent investigation and action. — Chile is believed to be uniformly Catholic; all parents have their children baptised, devotion to the Blessed Virgin is universal and tender, religious processions present a magnificent spectacle. However, enquiries and statistics as to religious, social and moral life have caused a painful surprise.

In 1940 the present author published a first article under the title of ¿ Es Chile un pais católico ? It raised a storm which is still going on. Don Humberto Muñoz published a study entitled Catolicismo Chileno. Finally investigations were undertaken by the students of the Catholic University of Valparaiso under the direction of Frs. Jara and Santos on the subject of the opinions of the people on Catholics, clergy and the Church. The result was as follows:

Religious sentiment is still very strong in Chile but the supernatural life in itself is constantly diminishing. The enormous ignorance of religion among the people and the subhuman conditions render them incapable of understanding Christianity or of leading a really Christian life. The middle class brought up in entirely materialistic surroundings have coveted public positions, for long controlled by freemasonry; they are largely dechristianised. The rich are in the grip of their wealth and luxury: they are frivolous, with no spirit of selfsacrifice, no zeal for the Church, which however, has worked hard for their education.

The Catholic University of Santiago has just founded an institute for economic and social research, directed by Don Ramón Venegas Carrasco. This institute coordinates the work of the different university seminaries and seeks to establish the true position of the nation as regards economics and social life in order to determine exactly how it affects religious life.

The Economic and Social Secretariat, a department of Catholic Action, coordinates the investigations in the rural and working-classes as well as the organisations for promoting the well-being

of the workers.

Many Catholics are today aware of the position, and that is something. Serious efforts are being made in all sectors. Catholic Action has awakened in women and girls of the leisured classes an awareness of the obligations of their faith and their social responsibility. It has got together men of intellectual standing,



Interior of a workingman's home



CAREFREE POVERTY

Often the elder sisters cannot go to school for in the absence of their parents they must look after the younger ones.

TRAGIC POVERTY

Portrait of a weeping mother whom we met at La Perseverancia. Her son had died the evening before; for lack of money she had not been able to buy a coffin. As the family lived all together in one room, the other children were close to the corpse of their brother.



of sound religious as well as social character. The Catholic universities of Santiago and Valparaiso have contributed greatly to this result.

The work which has been done among the workingclasses is considerable. J. O. C. has been added to the other undertakings devoted to religious training (workers of St. Joseph, patronages, retreats); great hopes are placed in it. The trades-unions, until lately under the exclusive control of the marxists, have now come into the sphere of Catholic Action, thanks to the "Asich" (Chilean trade-union and economic action), the workers' trades-union and kindred groups of a political nature directed by Catholics. However, there is much still to be done in the training of leaders both theoretically and practically before the redemption of the proletariat can be realized.

Encouraged by the pastoral letters of their bishops, the Chilean clergy work among all classes, even the most wretched; they are received everywhere with respect and gratitude. Many earnest Catholics understand the gravity of the situation. This awareness, the personal courage and deeply Christian spirit of the priests and laity are helping to form an atmosphere propitious to the leading of a Christian life. It is about time. Hundreds of thousands of people are living in surroundings in which the practice of Chris-

tianity needs heroism; and heroism is a rare thing.

God grant that we be able to help souls in whom His grace is working to create a world worthy of His children!

The Object of Religious Sociology

by Fr. Nabor DE VOLDER, O. F. M. Professor at the University of Louvain 1

Religious sociology is receiving greater attention. But people are far from agreed upon its object. Amongst Catholics, some want a religious sociology with a theological basis; others one that is purely empirical.

I. Empirical sphere of religious sociology.

There is no unanimity even among the former. One group acknowledges only a theological religious sociology; another recog-

nises an empirical religious sociology as well.

Consider the first group. The "Synthetic School" of American Catholics find even a close collaboration between philosophy and sociology insufficient; they are striving for an amalgamation of sociology, philosophy and theology. Their leader Paul Furfey declares: "Of course one must add that a sociology inspired by right philosophy does not represent the ultimate ideal from the Catholic viewpoint. To reach the deepest view of society, the data of revelation must be taken into account and then theology must be called into play. "2

What is the practical result of this theory? Paul H. Furfey's book, The Mystery of Iniquity (Milwaukee, 1944), a mixture of

² Paul H. Furfey, Why a Supernatural Sociology, in American Catholic Sociological Review, 1940, no 1. - This idea has been expressed by the other members of the Synthetic School: A. Muntsch and Henry S. Spalding (Introductory Sociol-

ogy), Paul GLENN, Raymond M. MURRAY.

¹ Born in 1909 at Waaken (Western Flanders), Rev. Fr. DE Volder entered the Novitiate of the Friars Minor in 1927; he was ordained Priest in 1934. Doctor of political and social sciences (Louvain 1942). In 1944, he was appointed Lecturer at the Catholic University of Louvain. - Principal publications: Arbeid en Economische Orde (Standaard Boekhandel, 1945), De Godsdienstigheid der Intellectuelen (Bruges, Beyaert, 1947), Journalisme en Opvoeding (Louvain, Nauwelaerts, 1950). -Address: Vlamingenstraat, Louvain, Belgium (Editor's note).

spirituality, dogmatic theology and philosophy of history. P. A. Sorokin, ³ probably influenced by a war atmosphere, also forgets the requirements of exact observation, and indulges in pedagogic or political considerations.

In Europe, too, several theologians are opposed to a religious sociology which is a purely humane science. In the series Grenz-fragen zwischen Theologie und Philosophie, professor N. Monzel published in 1939 a notable work: Struktursoziologie und Kirchenbegriff. ⁴ According to him religious sociology can only develop in a theological framework. Without revelation it is impossible to understand and explain the social structures of the Christian life. These latter are, indeed, so intimately connected with revelation that a purely empirical study misconceives the nature of the subject studied. ⁵

The *second group* of defenders of a theological sociology ⁶ are not opposed to empirical research in religious matters.

I believe that I can count among them Mgr. A. Geck, who has published a remarkable article which he calls *Sozialtheologie*. With good reason he takes the dogmas of the Trinity and the Creation as the basis for a sociology which he then tries to apply to the solution of the problems of human society. Without any doubt, supernatural sociology — at which there are several attempts — will render valuable services to theology as well as to Christian life. It does not follow that it is the only possible religious sociology. Besides theological sociology there is, we believe, a truly empirical religious sociology.

We are thus led to consider the position of those Catholics who

believe in a purely empirical religious sociology. 9

Since 1938 Canon Leclercq has become the defender of empirical sociology. His *Introduction à la sociologie* (Louvain, 1948), the result of a course he had given, has attracted the attention of Catholic intellectuals of several countries. An article

³ Society in Calamity, New York, 1943.

⁴ Bonn, 1939.

⁵ "Eine volle Erfassung ihrer konkreten Struktur ist jedoch nur dann möglich, wenn die... übernatürlichen Sinn- und Wertgehalte mit in die Betrachtung einbezogen werden " (op. cit., p. 241).

⁶ We quote the names of W. Schwer, J. P. Steffes, E. Welty...

⁷ In Die Kirche in der Welt, 1949, no. 77.

⁸ See the works of A. RADEMACHER, Carl J. FECKES (Das Mysterium der heiligen Kirche, Bonn, 1934), J. LECLERCO (La vie du Christ dans son Église).

 $^{^{\}rm 9}$ They have been preceded by non-Catholics, e. g. M. Weber, Troeltsch, J. Wach.

of him in the Bulletin de l'Institut de Recherches Économiques et Sociales applies his general theory to religious sociology. There is a religious sphere which is in a large measure apart from theology: the religious life of Christian people and the connection between this life and economics, housing, etc. "To know whether Christ is God is not a matter of sociology, but of to what extent society developes this belief and is influenced by it... What are the effects of religious life on the development of teaching, wealth and all the forms of economic life, the development of the means of transport, housing, town or country." 10

The founder of scientific observation of religious phenomena in France is without any question Gabriel Le Bras, professor of canon law at the Sorbonne. He has contributed to the extension of the domain to be explored. The French sociological school has taken up the ethnological observation of the religion of primitive peoples. To the difficulty of contacting these peoples must be added the rarity of documents, which leaves too much scope for subjective interpretations and imaginary reconstructions. A realist, M. Le Bras gives lessons in designing maps of religious practice and indicates the road which leads to the archives of parishes and dioceses. He thus avoids one of the pitfalls of religious sociology: the hasty presumption of formulating social relationships as valid for all religions. Without doubt, J. Wach is right when he suggests as a final aim for sociology the formulation of universal categories. ¹¹

But the comparative study of religion has not yet arrived at the results which would form a solid base for sociological comparison. It is better therefore to begin by studying limited religious phenomena: parish, religious order in the Catholic Church. Little by little we shall extend our researches; future generations will approach nearer to the ideal of a universal religious sociology.

2. Formal object of religious sociology.

There does then exist a domain of the religious life which could be explored by empirical methods. Would one say that in the religious life all observable phenomena are allied to sociology? Such an idea would be denied for reasons both theoretical and practical.

¹⁰ J. Leclerco, Les problèmes de la sociologie religieuse, in Bulletin de l'Institut de Recherches Économiques et Sociales, 1948, pp. 685 and 690.

¹¹ See his work, Einführung in die Religionssoziologie, Tübingen, 1931. La sociologie de la religion, in La sociologie au XX^e siècle, ed. by G. GURVITCH, Paris, 1947.

First of all, the religious life has for long been studied by other positive sciences: religious psychology, history, geography, religious phenomenology... Shall we make religious sociology into a kind of encyclopaedia including all these branches? 12

Next, from a practical point of view, the sociological specialist will find himself in presence of a many-sided reality, which must be studied separately with appropriate instruments.

We must then distinguish carefully the object of religious sociology.

Under the influence of M. Weber and other sociologists who share his opinions, the tendency is to identify the object with social relations (Strukturen-Beziehungen) in religious phenomena.

Consequently, the following are excluded from its sphere:

— the objective facts of religious life: worship, law, morals, etc.

— the relationships of these things with profane realities, for instance, the reciprocal influences between canon law and civil law, between religious music and profane, between religious life and demography, economics, etc.

According to J. Wach, such relationships ought to be studied by each of the disciplines concerned. Religious sociology will then be canalised in the study of social forms brought about by religion and the relationships between religion and society. ¹³

Gustav Mensching has the same idea. His work is made up of three parts: 14

- 1. Religion and profane community: forms of community and national religions universal religion and profane society, universal religion and the State.
- 2. Religion and religious communities: community forms of the universal religions, organisation of religion religious leaders: conservative or revolutionary.
- 3. Community and religion: profane community and religion decline in religious societies relations between the religious communities.

In short, religious sociology studies the social forms or structures

¹² Eva J. Ross seems to succumb to this temptation in her article *The Sociology* of Religion Today (The American Catholic Sociological Review, March 1950, pp. 3-14).

^{13 &}quot;Religionssoziologie ist... Untersuchung des wechselseitigen Einflusses von Religion und Gesellschaft aufeinander und Lehre von der religiös bestimmten Vergesellschaftung, den Formen und Gestaltungen derselben" (op. cit., p. 92.

¹⁴ According to him, religious sociology is "Die Lehre von den soziologischen Phänomen in Bereich der Religion und den soziologischen Beziehungen der Religion" (Sociologie der Religion, Bonn, 1947).

of religious life (various organisations — forms of authority — the masses and the élite — classes, orders, fraternities, etc.) and the relationships between these structures (relations between the orders, confraternities, etc.). Moreover, it analyses the relations between the religious structures and profane groups (parish, social class, geographical groups, etc.).

DISCUSSION

Fr. DE VOLDER having defined the formal object of religious sociology as "the forms or social structures of the religious life and the connections between these structures," Fr. Ellerbeck recognised an analogy between this formal object and that of religious psychology which deals with functional structures.

Interrogated as to the distinction which he drew between social science and sociology, Mgr Geck replied "Social science has as its object the social life in its many aspects; sociology stops at the communal aspect: the connection between social structures and behaviour."

Some of his hearers had the impression, all the same, that Fr. DE VOLDER limited the object of sociology too narrowly. Making himself their spokesman, Fr. DE AVILA asked if the influence of worship on the morality of the masses came under religious sociology. The speaker replied in the affirmative, if the worship was a social manifestation, but only then.

Canon Leclerco emphasised the merits of Fr. De Volder's speech. He remarked that unfortunately other Catholic sociologists let themselves be carried away by their zeal and mixed up the objective research of religious sociology with apostolic or social action.

Social Structures and Religious Zones

by Francis Houtart

Men live in social structures: clans, regions, nations, towns, etc. The Church reaches men through societies. Doubtless, salvation is personal; but the means of salvation instituted by Christ are communitarian: the hierarchical Church, dioceses, parishes, the clergy. What should be the relationship between these profane and religious structures? In the following article the urban problem is dealt with; but we will briefly examine the two.

I. SOCIAL STRUCTURES

I. Before the industrial revolution.

During the Middle Ages and modern times, the life of the people was centred on the village or small town, the commercial and administrative centre of a typical district. The dwellingplace, and the centre for work and social meetings is the village, or the quarter in the town.

2. After the industrial revolution.

A call came for manual workers to the centres of production, and there was an economic crisis in the countryside. Large industrial or administrative towns sprang up which involved the uprooting of the populace and the crushing of the individual. The dwellingplace is no longer the same as the place for work and human relationships.

The life of men is pulled in two directions, the geographical, based on place (home, district) and the social (according to the distinction made by Fr. Quoist who has made a study of a working quarter of Rouen) where the chief thing is not the place, but the kind of activity. We will leave aside this latter dimension and concentrate on the geographical. To begin with there is a distinction between the rural districts and the urban population.

- A. Rural districts. There are well-defined regions. The problem is to define them as exactly as possible. To this end one has to take count of the historical, economic, demographic and psychological factors, all differing from one place to another. Such a survey as this is strongly recommended by Gabriel Le Bras in his Introduction à la pratique religieuse en France. It is outlined in Canon Boulard's book, Problèmes missionnaires de la France rurale and has been carried out in the diocese of Aix-en-Provence, as the basis of a better understanding of the religious situation. ¹ Fr J. H. Kerkhofs, S. J., has taken the same line when dealing with the religious position of Belgian Limburg.
- B. Urban populations. The rapid development of towns has forced an enormous percentage of the population to concentrate in them. In Germany, 64 % of the total are townspeople; in the United States, 69 %; in England, 72 %. In this last country, 50 % of the population inhabit 7 large towns. And moreover, all really dynamic forces are in the cities which, from the social point of view, gives them a greater importance than the purely demographic factor would suggest. The attraction of the towns is shown by the schedules of daily transport businesses. Also, it signifies the spreading out into the surrounding country. The result is a devitalisation of the villages and an uprooting of the people who concentrate in the cities. Studies in town life are very much to the fore at the present time. American sociologists have given the lead, either in anthropology, ecology or cityplanning. The English have made a study of "the neighbourhood unit" and the foundation of community centres. The French geographers, urbanists and sociologists are also dealing with the same things. We may sum up the different aspects of town study as follows:
- 10 General significance. The town's historical, geographical and economic background must be ascertained in order to discover the reason for its existence, development, etc. For instance, there is a difference between Brussels, a town which is essentially administrative, with small industries, chiefly luxury and transport, while Charleroi is due to mines and metallurgy. Various classifications have been made, the most usual being that of McKensie. ²

¹ See Les soubassements sociologiques d'un diocèse, in Masses Ouvrières, no. 61, pp. 84-96.

² Cf. A. HARRIS, Functional classification of Cities in the U.S.A., in The Geographical Review, Vol. 33, 1943, pp. 85-99.

2º General structure. — To examine town life, its physical structure must be determined — that is to say the framework of the social, cultural, political and even religious elements.

They must be inspected in their concrete setting: American ecology, French morphology and German and Dutch sociography are doing this. It is important to ascertain if the town is developing concentrically, like those of the Middle Ages overflowing their successive boundaries, or in the shape of a star, or along the lines of communication, as many modern towns, especially in the U.S.A.; or again in the form of several nuclei joined together (Wuppertal, formed from Erberfelt and Barmen), a phenomenon known as conurbanisation. This point ascertained, the next thing to find out is the different zones of the town, in the same way as the districts in a rural area are defined. In this way the distinction can be made between the commercial centre or 'city' in which the large shops, banks, civic buildings, places of amusement, hotels, certain luxury trades, etc., etc., and the other sections of the town: mixed quarters made up of small factories and working class houses, usually fairly congested; residential areas; suburbs more or less independent but linked to the town for certain services, without mentioning the slums or large factories. We must also examine the movements of the population between the various zones.

3. Particular structures.

We must go beyond this "zoning" if we want to know all the implications of town life. Sociological study, especially that with a view to town planning is becoming more concerned with discovering or encouraging the constitution of the quarter.

City-planning, above all in the rebuilding of English towns, has for its principal basis the *neighbourhood unit* as the most appropriate place of human concourse. This same tendency is to be found in France in the work of men like Gaston Bardet and in Germany in the reconstruction plans (cf. *Das Neue Köln*, published by the town of Cologne, 1950). It is to be found also in the work of builders behind the Iron Curtain. ³

During the first quarter of this century, a town was a disjointed concentration of human beings, the inhabitants were numbers rather than persons. They came to act according to majority ideas. Density of population and housing was the problem studied. After the 1914 war, garden cities and new housing estates grew up.

The great fault in this new building was that housing was the

³ See P. George, Varsovic 1919; reconstruction on naissance d'une nouvelle ville, in Population, 1949, no. 4, pp. 713-726.

only thing considered: insufficient attention was paid to the social life of the people thus transplanted. There was a lack of amenities such as shops, schools, amusement centres, and churches, while transport for taking them to work, to the shops, cinema, etc. was very expensive. This even encouraged the return of families to the slums from which they had come, where certain facilities existed for communal life.

The second world war has shown up the defects of the urbanism between the wars. Also it is now that attention is being directed to the town quarter as a centre of community life, so as to try and evolve a remedy for depersonalisation and individualism, the result of overcrowding or disintegration.

This is not the time to enter upon all the details of this unit of human geography, which deserves more detailed study. We will, however, mention certain essential results which have been collected despite divergencies of opinion according to different standpoints and countries.

- 1º Geographical boundaries. There are natural or psychological barriers beyond which the city quarter cannot spread; waterways, railways, arterial highways.
- 2º Social facilities. It is indispensable to consider facilities for commerce, work, amusements, open spaces, education and religion. Allied to these are the centres of attraction (lighthouses, as G. Bardet would call them) such as meetingplaces for various ages, a busy square, a church in the centre of a thoroughfare of shops, etc. The English are trying to solve this problem with their community centres.
- 3º The number of persons. Plato would only admit to his ideal city 5.000 inhabitants; that, according to him, is the limit of human sympathy. This wise estimate is confirmed by the observations of sociologists and urbanists. Gaston Bardet fixes the number of people in his parochial unit or district at about 5.000: the English speak of a "neighbourhood unit" of from 5 to 10.000 souls and Professor L. Neundörfer of Frankfurt, entrusted with the scheme for the rebuilding of Cologne, has designed units of from 6 to 7.000 for the centre, with social, cultural and religious amenities and separated by streets bearing heavy traffic.
- 4º No social segregation. On the contrary, a living community presupposes a mixture of the various classes, thus making use of diverse capacities for its service. No "ghettos" are to be allowed, however charming they may be! (Michelin to Clermont-Ferrand; the coal-mines of Campine). Note that from now on Bardet calls this the parochial unit, in order to evoke, he says, the part which the parish of a former age played, while English writers show to what extent the church was the centre of the community.

Two applications of this discovery are made:

- 1) Planning of towns to be rebuilt or new ones or parts of them. Thus, the principle of the "neighbourhood unit" has been adopted for the rebuilding schemes for London, Plymouth, Manchester, Coventry, Middlesborough, etc. The idea of the "Nachbarschaft" is also the basis for the plan of New Cologne.
- 2) Arrangement of the existing sectors. It is possible with a few exceptions such as the "city" to find geographical units defined by the barriers we have mentioned and clustered around centres of attraction (shops etc.). These geographical units are sometimes much more swollen than the ideal figures given above would lead one to infer and, either because of their exaggerated size or because of insufficient social machinery, do not form psychological units. The scheme for rearrangement will consist in finding out deficiencies and in studying the possibilities of remedying them on the material, educational, cultural and spiritual planes.

It is in this sense that the towns of Constantina, Avignon, Rheims, etc. have been studied and that the scheme for greater Brussels or the investigations of the Centre for sociological studies on the Paris agglomeration are being carried out.

There are various methods for investigating the town districts of a town.

The Anglo-Americans have specialised in using statistical indices. The chief criteria allowing of differentiation are, besides geographical limits, conditions of life, cultural standards, institutional systems, concentration of businesses within the area, etc.

In continental Europe, except perhaps in the Low Countries and Sweden, another line has been taken. We do not possess all the statistics which the anglo-americans have, especially those dealing with revenue.

Gaston Bardet, the French town planner, has started a method called social topography. This consists in making a social map of the town by marking on the survey map all the houses in different colours according to the trade or calling of their inhabitants. This gives a telling picture of the make-up of the town and allows of many interesting facts to be noted. In the interior of the quarter, circumscribed by boundaries, meetingplaces, and the special shops, this method allows of drawing up a lower scale based on the daily shopping round: baker, greengrocer, grocer, often grouped together and serving normally 100 to 150 households. This is the domestic scale.

To complete our examination we must mention all the special problems occurring either in certain towns or in certain districts, such as foreigners, delinquent children, dockers, students, etc. They also will be denoted by maps or colours (cf. the maps made by the administration of West Berlin).

4º Future development. — It is now possible to foresee a certain development. The large cities appear to have reached saturation point (numerically speaking) except in the countries where industry is starting. However, if they are no longer developing very

strongly demographically, their circumference is still growing, for the centre tends to empty in favour of the periphery. On the other hand, the medium and small towns are still extending, when their industrial and commercial undertakings allow of it and their birthrate is good.

II. RELIGIOUS BOUNDARIES

We will not now deal with what concerns the apostolic action on the milieux of work, leisure, etc., but will concentrate on the geographical formation of the visible Church.

I. The dioceses.

With some exceptions (Paris, London, New York), all dioceses contain rural districts. The fixing of these districts and their particular problems is most important for the pastorate. Considerations of this kind may perhaps call for the revision of some boundaries, perhaps even for segmentation, based not on what is arbitrary but on the true state of things.

By way of example a study in the diocese of Aix-en-Provence has brought into prominence the existence of two communes which form part of the outskirts of Marseilles and are in consequence connected in every respect with the diocese of that town. The religious divisions do not always coincide with the civil divisions. In Spain, the ecclesiastical provinces do not correspond with the civil provinces: they are more adapted to the historical and ethnical data, than the latter.

2. The deaneries.

Undoubtedly these are less important than the dioceses or the parishes, but in rural districts, they are the normal grouping of priests. The investigators of the diocese of Aix note on this subject:

"The unit for apostolic problems is not necessarily the deanery, but the region. A brief comparison of the files of these deaneries and the files of the regions show a definite cleavage between these administrative divisions and the divisions that the conditions of life have created.

Within each region, work teams might be established, according to deaneries if they were reorganised, work teams focusing on the real common problems. $^{\prime\prime}$ 4

In Brussels seven deaneries share between them about a mil-

⁴ See Masses Ouvrières, No. 61, p. 87.

lion inhabitants, and one of them (Saint-Gilles) exceeds 200.000. On the other hand 22 rural parishes situated outside the 19 communes of the built-up areas (comprising 16 surrounding rural parishes) are connected with 4 of these deaneries, thus bringing into the priests' reunions, problems that are extremely diverse. At Cologne there are 9 deaneries for 600.000 inhabitants.

3. The parishes.

Now we touch the basic problem, since the parish is the centre of the Christian community, just as the parish church is the normal place for the communication of divine life through the sacraments.

A. Origin and development. — As Gabriel Le Bras remarks in his work Introduction à l'Histoire de la pratique religieuse en France (t. II), the origin of the delimitation of parishes is the facility of access to the place of worship, for, to a great extent, Sunday observance is subordinated to it (p. 89). Let us not forget moreover that the territorial delimitations of parishes only date from the carolingian reforms, that is to say, the 9th century for the rural parishes and three or four centuries later for parishes within towns. From this period, or a little later, dates the obligation of fulfilling the Easter precept in one's own parish, the designation of one's own parish priest as the qualified witness of marriage, etc., all were elements strengthening the bonds with the parish Church envisaged as essentially a place of worship.

In order to adhere faithfully to this concept, it became necessary, in the course of ages, to adapt or multiply places of worship. In rural districts, the difficulties were seldom very great since the natural unity formed by the village was the normal receptacle of the parish community. In the towns, it was otherwise. In course of time, ancient parishes had to be cut up and new ones created. Urbanisation went on in disorderly fashion and it frequently happened that the configuration of new parishes were subject to arbitrary rulings. In many cases — the archives reveal this — selfish competition set the pastors at loggerheads; certain delimitations wich are amazing from a geographical and social aspect, are thus explained; this is what made Charles Terlinden say: "Parish life has been exterminated for financial reasons."

G. Le Bras also points out the faulty delimitations:

The partial dechristianization and the revolution in housing of the last 10 years broke down the centuries old divisions. We have denounced this

anachronism as being one of the causes of disaffection; by an inevitable reversal, it is also one of its consequences. ⁵

B. The Problems of town parishes. — 1º Administrative Limits. — In the centre of many towns whose origin goes back to the Middle Ages, the limits of parishes have not altered at all since that period. This is true of Brussels, Antwerp, Namur; it was the case with regard to Paris before the Concordat. Since then, these districts have been depopulated, streets have lost their importance, other streets have replaced them; rivers, such as the Senne in Brussels, have diminished, and canals have replaced them. Now, the centre of these towns, transformed in great measure into "city," still preserve the same parish areas.

In the course of the XIXth century, divisions were not always made with much discernment. Thus in Brussels, the most glaring social obstacles were not respected: railway lines (the parishes of Southern station and Northern Station are divided by the railroad), canals, busy boulevards, not to speak of social entities arbitrarily dissected. An inquiry on the worshippers attending a nuns' Chapel, revealed that this chapel was the normal place of worship for a district that was socially clearly delimited and divided into 4 parishes; 14 % of the worshippers did not know to which parish they belonged.

2º Places of worship. — Their accessibility is of great importance.

A parish of Anderlecht comprises two workingmen's cities, but the church has been built at a place which on the map, seems central, whereas owing to the configuration of the terrain, it is actually far and difficult of access. In the first of these cities, with 2.500 inhabitants, there are 50 who practise, and in the other with 1.500 inhabitants, about 10. Let us not forget that distances in cities differ psychologically from distances in the country.

3º Religious equipment. — By this is understood all that can be considered as a centre of religious influence: schools, parish buildings, etc., including the dwelling of the parish priest and curates.

In a parish of Anderlecht, all this equipment is located east of the Church. On the west, where the working quarter is, there is nothing. One result of this is that the parish clergy have few reasons for showing themselves and going about in the district.

4º Demography. - The number of parishioners is evidently

⁶ Op. cit., p. 120.

of weighty influence with regard to the vitality of a parish. If it is immoderately large, the parish priest cannot be a shepherd. Experience demonstrates that merely to add curates, is unsatisfactory. "One more to look after the same people," was what a parish priest of Brussels said to me. It is the same set of Christians reached from different angles, unless the parish priest divides up the parish among his curates, as the abbé Michonneau and abbé Rétif are doing. ⁶

The figures for religious practice, given by the archdiocese of Paris show that a parish rarely touches more than 5.000 persons, even if its population exceeds 40 or 50.000. The priest in charge of a parish of 27.000 inhabitants in Brussels has reckoned that by means of all the works of the parish, 3.200 persons were contact-

ed, including the children.

If over-populated parishes have disadvantages (Paris, average: 30.000; Brussels, average: 12.000), in the towns, too small parishes are faced with financial problems that are almost insoluble. It would seem that a happy mean lies between 5 and 8.000. If need be one might consider additional places of worship for Sunday Mass and Catechism, such as at Dinant or at Mons (Sainte-Waudru). This raises the question of building new churches and chapels of ease.

5º Distribution and age of the Clergy. - Delicate problems arise here.

Comparison between towns and country places. — Obviously, distance is a factor making the ministry more difficult in the country. This should not hinder the question of distribution from being closely studied. In Brussels there is one priest for 3.250 inhabitants. In the rural deaneries, it varies between I priest for 500 and I priest for 1.000 inhabitants.

Number of diocesan priests in the colleges. In Brussels, 185 diocesan priests are professors in colleges — without counting Jesuits and others —; 273 priests are responsible for the parochial ministry for more than 900.000 inhabitants. (I here exclude 16 parishes forming part of the Brussels agglomeration, but still rural).

Distribution according to deaneries. — We have seen that the centre of towns is being depopulated. Thus, the deanery of central Brussels has one priest for 2.260 inhabitants, while that of Saint-Gilles, adjoining it, has one priest for 4.570 inhabitants, practically double the number. The distribution of the clergy has obviously not followed the demographic evolution; this can partly be explained by the fact that an agreement must be made with the civil authorities for all such changes.

⁶ See: Les soubassements sociologiques d'une paroisse, dans Masses Ouvrières, no. 61, pp. 69-83.

The parish of Saint-Jacques, of bourgeois aspect, and in process of depopulation, has 4 priests for 3.600 inhabitants. The parish of Saint-Josse, separated from the former by a few hundred metres, and mostly working class, has 5 priests for 25.000 inhabitants.

Age of Clergy. — The average age of the parish priests of Paris is 60. In Brussels an attempt at rejuveneration has been accomplished within the last 15 years: the average age is 57. More interesting is the age for nominations. In Paris: 52 years, in Brussels: 46 years. However, in this latter town, the larger the parishes, the more advanced the age of nomination; 45 I/2 years for parishes of over 10.000 inhabitants, 48 years for those of over 20.000. A large proportion of these priests are directed straight from the colleges to the responsibility of a parish, which entails a great effort of adaptation.

In 1950, in Paris, 11 % of the parish priests were under 50 and 25 % were over 70. In Brussels, 20 % were under 50, and 9,5 % were over 70. The religious. — The religious possess large chapels or churches, which in fact, serve certain quarters. Besides, some are parishes (the church of the Capuchins in Brussels). At Lisbon, the Archbishop has just entrusted several parishes to religious.

6º Parishes and town life. — What is the conclusion that follows from the preceding considerations? It would be very useful to profit by the town studies actually in progress, in order to study the difficult problems of the configuration of parishes, deaneries and dioceses. With regard to the creation of parishes and the building of churches, the views of townplanners are essential. With regard to ancient parishes, awareness of the gradations of human groups and of neighbourhood, might suggest prudent corrections. As a minimum one might take stock of the obstacles which in fact isolate one part of the parish from its church. It is enough to realise how the erection of a parish in a district, occasions a religious revival.?

Great efforts are being made almost everywhere to revive parochial communities. Has one always aimed at ascertaining whether the actual parcelling out was compatible with the creation of a real community or whether, as the result of a great expenditure of energy and zeal, a spiritual community was being created bereft of necessary links with human groupings as they exist in real life. To pour life into the structure of the Church is the wrong approach to a problem. It is what abbé Rétif calls "paroissialisation."

⁷ See: Bressollette, Un quartier de Poitiers bâtit son église en 6 mois, dans Masses Ouvrières, no. 58, pp. 76-88. — Let us recall the splendid work of the Chantiers du Cardinal Verdier in Paris.

CONCLUSIONS

Let us not revert to the conclusions which concern the limits of parishes; but confine ourselves to those that result from the investigations regarding religious sociology in general:

- 1) There can be no religious sociology of real interest and pointing to concrete solutions without previous historical and social studies.
- 2) These studies must not start with the administrative divisions: parishes or deaneries, townships or provinces; one should first endeavour to mark out the already existing human entity. Thus, it would be advantageous to study the religious practice and behaviour in a given region or district, rather than in a deanery or parish, unless these are truly social units.

Survey of Religion in the Tournai Diocese (Belgium)

by Eugène Collard

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I. Difficulties.

Belgium, a century ago, contributed honourably to the progress of positive social sciences with the statistical work of Quetelet; but she does not yet seem to share as effectively in the application of this discipline to the religious sphere.

I think that this is chiefly because the need for detailed consideration of religion in our country has not been seen as clearly as in some others: the Catholic church has remained predominant, the protestants only forming very weak minorities; in five dioceses out of the six in the country, large districts remain so faithful as to distract attention from the really dechristianised zones.

As in other States, the official Belgian statistics do not seek information as to the creed of the citizens; the exactness of the listing of religious facts suffers from the absence of this fundamental figure.

The annual reports of the parish priests to their bishops, through their respective deans on the occasion of church visitations, certainly contain numerical data, but the reports are not open to inspection in the diocesan archives. Besides, the facts cannot probably be compared with other dioceses, and very likely not with the same diocese at different periods. In the Tournai

¹ Fr. Collard was born at Liège on the 1st July 1915. After his ecclesiastical training (philosophy and theology), he studied law at the University of Louvain (doctorate in 1942) and the political and social sciences (licence in 1943). He was then curate at Farciennes (1942-1944). Since 1945 he has been director of propaganda in the diocese of Tournai; he edits an important parochial weekly: *Dimanche*, with a circulation of 275,000. — Address: 10, rue Quiévroy, Mons, Веленим (Editor's note).

diocese, the archives before May 1940 were destroyed by fire. It is not easy to obtain from many parish priests these facts privately. The amount of administrative information which they have to furnish makes them indisposed for this kind of work. Moreover, after some years in the same place, a priest knows his parish thoroughly, and he has no use for figures. He is right from his own point of view to a great extent, but that does not help either successors or those who want to draw comparisons between different parishes.

The welcome which the enquirer receives from individuals is no more encouraging. A Belgian, especially a Walloon, is individualist, not inclined to facilitate the task of authority by giving information. There is also among Walloons a very great and respectable shyness about divulging what concerns their private lives; if they do want to express it, they cannot always find the right words.

A last obstacle: there is not, as far as I know, anyone in Belgium who gives his full time to religious sociology.

2. The setting of the enquiry.

However, the need for religious sociology is beginning to be realised, especially in the most dechristianised parts of the country particularly Hainault.

The National Institute of Statistics and various other bodies furnish facts of a civil nature which are very useful for a comprehensive religious sociology, as well as some which are directly religious, such as those referring to clergy and religious, etc.

But we must emphasise that it is according to the utility for the pastorate proportionate to the effort put forth that sociology will find support from the diocesan authorities, and the keenest of the parish clergy. That means to say that these investigations ought to find inspiration in those of the organisers of publicity or political propaganda: study of the public from whom a particular attitude is required — a study with reference to this public of the object which is to be put before them-study of the methods applicable or applied to this end. In short, the triple research demanded by the art of propaganda in the widest, not derogatory, sense of the word.

It is along these lines that we have started an enquiry as to the religious life in the Tournai diocese, which is our own; dechristianisation here more than elsewhere seems to call for a revision of pastoral methods; its great diversity makes the enquiry especially interesting.

The episcopal see of Tournai dates from the sixth century, but with the exception of about forty parishes, its present area does not correspond to the medieval diocese of the same name. The present one was erected on the application of the Concordat of 1801. A good half of the parishes were formed of parishes from the old diocese of Cambrai, and the rest from the old dioceses of Tournai, Namur and Liège, in the extremities to the west, northeast and southeast respectively; a heterogeneity which naturally does not facilitate exact historical research.

The province being mostly of a fertile soil with a subsoil rich in coal, it was at the beginning of the 19th century chiefly agricultural with few large towns and an incipient industry. At the end of the old régime, once past the troubled times of the revolution, one imagines that among the great majority of the people religious practice was the rule, with the exception of a small number of voltaireans and the poor.

Hainault is one of the western districts which has been most deeply affected by the industrial and capitalist expansion of the 19th century. The countryside bears traces of it as does the progress and distribution of the population.

3. First investigations.

In a first enquiry, carried out among the parish priests in 1948/49, we tried to obtain figures of an elementary kind as to religious practice. The following was the procedure: a questionnaire was sent to the priests of the 556 parishes, asking the numbers of baptisms, solemn communions, marriages, burials, Easter communions, attendance at Sunday mass for the year 1947, regarding a perfect observance, as well as the number of communions of devotion (not including those of religious, nor Easter). A postcard was attached on which the figures asked for could be noted. Nearly all the details required are the same as those which have to be provided at a visitation.

Two-thirds of the answers came in an encouragingly quick stream. For the others a reminder was necessary, sometimes two. Finally, about 450 came to hand, providing usable answers from four-fifths of the parishes.

The figures for Easter duties which appear to us to be both the most significant and the most exact, because the clergy collect them most carefully, have served to establish a map, although a very approximate one, of the Easter religious practice by local-

ities. The missing data have been supplied by way of analogy with the neighbourhood or the average.

The regional nature of the variations seems to us to be striking enough.

Sunday attendance seems to amount to an average for the province of about 25 %.

Practice would therefore appear to have lessened chiefly in the most industrialised districts.

Although it would be extremely difficult to compare the moral behaviour at different periods, it seems that Christian vitality, distinct from public practice, has fallen in a similar curve, if not more steeply, for the conduct of some of those practising, especially in rural districts, is hardly Christian. The absence of connection between the level of religious practice and the number of children in a family seems an indication of this. One notes with pleasure the existence of an élite, few but ardent.

The fact having thus been roughly established, we have considered that the following hypothesis could direct us in our search for an explanation. It was suggested by the greater lapse in the industrial centres, by the impression that in the parishes practice is kept up chiefly by those families long established, and finally, by the difficulty of introducing one who has returned to his faith into the parochial community.

Religious practice is, we think, broken up the more as it ceases to benefit from the social pressure which sustains it and when it has not been replaced by the attraction, for those concerned, of a community sufficiently Christian to welcome them traternally and receive them as one of their own.

In a general way, the Catholic religion has ceased to profit from the quasi-coercion of the Ancien Régime in its favour; being nowadays more free it has doubtless more value and that will lessen our gloom regarding our times and the regrets of the " laudatores temporis acti."

Social pressure, although attenuated, has continued to sustain religious practice in many rural localities whose population is stabilised. It has also continued, but still weaker, in the places where there has been an influx owing to industry, among the old inhabitants.

On the contrary, those numerous rustics who have left the villages because of the need for earning their living and the attraction of the industrial regions have escaped this pressure and have ceased to be truly parishioners. It would seem that their new parishes are not sufficiently awake to the necessity for absorbing them, which could have been done on their first arrival. Left to themselves, these newcomers undergo the depressing effect of liberal capitalism without the Church appearing to them in the light of a protector of their rights. Their interests have mostly been looked after by men resolutely hostile to the Church.

Parochial communities, in spite of great devotion, seem as a whole to be lacking in fervour towards the masses flooding in upon them. We have on the one hand a people progressively emancipated by the breaking of their ties with the land, by the injustices which they have undergone, by popular education and by the acquisition of material comfort; on the other, a clergy whose numbers have not been reinforced in these districts in proportion to the growth of the population; oldfashioned forms of worship, whose communal aspects are not sufficiently realised; a religious instruction which is rigid in its scholastic formulae, and also hardly preached to those of the population who are outside the Church; parishioners whose conduct is not always a convincing testimony.

The leakage is probably accentuated by the growing number of the lapsed creating a social pressure away from the Church, especially among the working classes.

This state of things ought surely to give rise to the following

reactions on the part of individuals:

- Catholic parishioners who follow the tradition but who live their faith;
 - stable and defaulting parishioners;
 - uprooted parishioners who take their faith with them;
- parishioners absorbed into a new parish through the apostolate or some other form of fraternal action.

4. New Researches.

Inspired by this hypothesis for work, new researches are carried out in the triple scale of diocese, parish and individual, according to the following plan:

On the diocesan level we try to fix the general aspects of this ecclesiastical unity (for instance, staffing of the seminaries, secondary schools, deaneries, the outlines of the recent history of the diocese); always as far as possible making comparisons with neighbouring dioceses. On the other hand we ask for all possible information from each of the 556 parishes of which the diocese now consists; facts of demography, religious practice, etc.

On the parochial level we make a more detailed study of a small number of parishes, as typical as possible, where conditions favour

enquiry, especially if the priest in charge is interested in studies of this kind. Here again, we look for the general aspects of this unity (for instance, places of worship, religious communities) and then collect data to be assessed concerning each household:

Age, sexes, occupation, address, civil status and number of children, place of origin, information furnished by the people's register. Types of religious practice (lapsed, seasonal, practising, devout and ardent, with a special mention of the adherents of other creeds); this last information can be obtained from local sources, the parish priest for instance.

This documentation must be put together in a graphic manner, especially by using the tables composed by Canon Boulard and M. Bardet.

On the personal level, the following must be obtained:

Standard of education, resources, politics, various data concerning family (number of children, degree of religious practice, origin, social level of the parents compared with the individual being questioned); we should like to add a questionnaire or an interview regarding their opinion on religion (we should like to adopt the remarkable enquiry of Fr. Delooz on the faith of students), but so far this has not been possible, except when dealing with firm Catholics, which obviously is not enough.

In collecting the individual figures from different parishes, we hope to construct a file of personal cases valid for the diocese as a whole.

The Method Used in an Enquiry as to Religious Practice in the Diocese of Lille (France)

by J. VERSCHEURE

Director of the social secretariate

This report deals principally with the methodological side of the enquiry on four elementary points: 1) baptism, 2) catechism, 3) practice Sunday Mass, and 4) Easter duties; the first two, for the "under fourteens" and the last two for the "over fourteens." It was carried out at the request of the Assembly of Cardinals and Archbishops of France; our experiment was in the Lille diocese.

I. Preparation. — The preparation of the enquiry was undertaken by a diocesan bureau composed, not of sociological experts, but of some priests who were to have the responsibility of the enquiry: seven chaplains of specialised Catholic societies, nine parish priests and five curates.

We imagined — and experience confirmed this — that interest had to be aroused in the enquiry before starting the workers off. For lack of a better means, we showed at the bureau the results of some former studies, elements of religious sociology, namely: the division of the clergy according to their functions (parochial clergy, parish priests alone, or with curates, teaching priests, chaplains in particular establishments, etc.), the distribution of parishes according to the number of their inhabitants, also of the clergy, the predictable rate of mortality among the clergy and in consequence, the probable age of succession to the rank of parish priest. After having studied the practical effects of these enquiries, investigations were proceeded with.

In order to understand the report of MM. Le Bras and Boulard, we gave some simple explanatory notes, by way of observations for future enquirers.

The chief difficulty lies in the nomenclature of the professional categories, one of the aspects under which Mass attendance and performance of the Easter duties have to be analysed. Seven categories had been suggested: agriculturalists, agricultural labourers, shopkeepers and artisans, employees, official or retired, factory hands, non agricultural bourgeoisie and aristocracy, seamen. An explanatory note gave the meaning of the terms artisan, official.

Preparatory meetings were arranged for the deans, themselves attending deanery meetings; each parish priest was to hold parish meetings in order to brief the enquirers.

This preparatory phase was too hurried, as the organisers were

all rushed for time.

2. The carrying out of the enquiry. — The procedure was varied; it appears that the number of inhabitants had first to be ascer-

tained in order to explain the different attitudes.

In the 205 parishes with less than 2.000, the priest knows them all individually and in a general way, their callings. A parish priest in this position can himself answer the enquiries except if he will carry out the instructions to give the figure for Mass attendance on the exact Sunday for which it is asked. As a rule this is not done: the parish priest gives the habitual attendance at Sunday Mass without taking the trouble to ascertain it for that particular Sunday.

In the II6 parishes of from 2.000 to 6.000 inhabitants, all are not known; those who are regular are fairly well known, but not their work. In these parishes, the enquiry was carried out usually on the proper Sunday. But there was less care and exactness in

giving the professional categories.

In the 50 parishes of more than 6.000 inhabitants, not even all the regulars are known, except in those where they were few in number. In this group, age categories were rarely given, and almost never the professional ones.

Those who succeeded best had formed a network covering the

whole parish with thirty households per worker.

It was unanimously established as a first principle that the

enquiry must be carried out without exterior show.

For assistance at mass on an ordinary Sunday one date was fixed for the whole diocese. Among the many methods of counting, the best seemed to be that of giving a card to each. The parish priest gave out at the pulpit the apostolical meaning of the enquiry being held that morning and asked his flock to put their cards

in the box at the door which corresponded with their age: men and women from 14 to 21, 21 to 40, 40 to 60, 60 and over; this was done at each mass. It could even be asked that each put their profession on their cards.

For Easter communions direct enquiry was impossible, so that reliance had to be placed on the priests' information; they could give the number of confessions more easily than that of communions.

3. Collection and classification of the results. — This was done thoroughly by means of the visual method: numerous cards and graphs of a simple kind, then more complex ones; comparisons and discussions were carried on in various meetings of clergy or layworkers, especially on the occasion of the diocesan congress of works of zeal.

Generally speaking, as the baptisms were almost level, catechumens 85%, paschal communions regularly about 10% over Sunday attendance, it was judged best to keep to the idea of attendance at Mass on an ordinary Sunday, as a matter of enquiry.

This was analysed under three aspects; the general average of regulars for which we had the answers from all of our 380 parishes; by age categories where 47 % had been studied; by professional categories in which 30 % of the population had been numbered.

A rapid survey may be made of these two aspects:

The extreme variety of the results is striking: the explanation for this has been looked for in many ways: politics, number of clergy, numbers of the population, means of communication and finally the professional structure.

A more detailed study must therefore be made of this fact

which stands out clearly as the most revealing.

It should be noted how greatly this classification interested the hearers and completely changed their psychological approach to these enquiries.

Looking back now at our experiment, we think it desirable to make some minor modifications, particularly in the age and professional groups.

DISCUSSION

Mgr Simon Delacroix, Professor at the Institut Catholique, Paris, had spoken just before M. Verscheure. His paper was entitled: The state of researches in religious sociology in France. Director General of the apostolic union of secular priests of the Sacred Heart, Mgr Delacroix is interested in all that concerns the progress of the pastorate. He gave an account of the means by which the French parish priest carries out, with the help of the laity, a sociological study of his parish.

A very complete one is due to the review Économie et Humanisme.

Fr. Kopf, O. P., then published the *Guide d'enquête pastorale*. ² He takes for granted that the Church must be the leaven in the mass; therefore it is important to know the quality of the leaven and of the mass. The enquiry must then fall into two parts: 1) the human community, 2) the community of the baptised.

This *Guide*, revised by the author with the help of Canon Boulard, is about to appear under a new form: L'étude d'une paroisse rurale. The questionnaire is contained in a pamphlet, 8vo, 28 pages, containing forms for filling in the results of an enquiry, as well as a number of blanks for physical, human, country and local maps and for annotations as to the statistics.

The enquiry is directed to a twofold study, that of the human community and that of the Catholic community. It contains ten chapters: the economic and social history of the locality; actual factors influencing the region; general ethical standards; the Christian spirit; the behaviour of various milieux; short religious history of the parish; religious practice; quality of the religious life; evolutionary forces at work; the place of Christians. A last chapter "Conclusions pastorales" determines the action to be taken.

Three brochures accompany this pamphlet: the Guide de l'enquéteur, Une méthode de représentation graphique, Une enquête type.

¹ If we do not reproduce in extenso this lucid paper, it is because it necessarily contained a number of facts which the reader has already had put before him in Professor Le Bras' article. We here content ourselves with mentioning some of the items, upon which Mgr Delacroix has thrown particular light.

² S. A. G. M. A., 35, rue de la Glacière, Paris XIIIe.

³ Centre national d'études rurales, 63, rue de Sèvres, Paris VIe.

For town surveys, there is no guide at present. The work of Fr. Verscheure has all the more merit.

Canon Leclerco congratulated Fr. Verscheure, the head of the social secretariat at Lille. He emphasised the importance of one of the researchworker's conclusions: "a man's profession exercises an undoubted influence on religious practice." The president expressed the wish that M. Verscheure would continue his studies on what is the precise nature of the connection between profession and religious life. He next invited Fr. Kopf to tell the achievement of the organisation of which he was delegate, *Économie et Humanisme*.

Fr. Kopf told of the questionnaire issued by Économie et Humanisme.

Several parish priests made use of it; but their replies were to few for any regional or national conclusions to be drawn. However, something has resulted: the clergy had gained in precision and exactitude in their assessment of facts.

Fr. Kopf recognised that the diagram needed to be improved; it concentrated too much attention on quantitative facts; moreover, it did not show enough interest in the apostolic role which the Christian should normally exert in the human community. The pamphlet entitled *L'étude d'une paroisse rurale* marks a progress under these two heads. At present the enquiry is directed to the discovery of obstacles and stepping stones in the way of evangelisation.

Fr. Verscheure seemed to conclude that the fewer a profession showed practising Christians the more dechristianised was that profession; Fr. Delcuve, S. J., therefore, asked the speaker if his conclusion was not rather precipitate. The Christian life is principally an interior and qualitative reality; is there not a danger in forming an estimate of it on the regularity of exterior acts, whose importance is of course evident? Fr. Verscheure replied that he thought the same; some of his expressions were not exact. He was glad to learn that J. O. C. had attached more value to the qualitative element in its recent researches.

Mgr Delacroix dwelt on this element and how to discover it. He thought that statistics occupied an exaggerated place in sociological work.

Canon Leclerco thought quantitative enquiries were indispensable; they were an introduction to the knowledge of a parish and a diocese... They only became dangerous if the researchworker stopped at them and did not go on to make a "qualitative" study.

What Has Been Done and Projected Schemes for German Sociography

General work; work on the parish

by Ludwig Neundörfer 1

Sociography ² describes social life and human activities; it makes a study of their relationship. It is concerned with the structure of the social body, its functions and the individual behaviour of its members.

Sociographical work has for object: the family, the household, the commune, the locality (village, town), the nation, the State, family businesses, small businesses (the artisans), medium sized enterprises (industries of conversion, banks, administration); large concerns (heavy industry, post office, railways, mines). This list is not exhaustive.

In social organisms, their structure must be studied (anatomy),

¹ Born at Mainz, 13th March 1901, Prof. Dr. Ludwig Neundörfer, after having finished his University studies with the Doctor's degree in philosophy and aggregation, became University assistant. In 1940, he was charged with establishing the principles of a new decree of agriculture in Germany, investigating on working conditions at Frankfurt and teaching the questions of establishment and planning at the University. In 1943 he was given the direction of the Institute of Sociography at the University of Frankfurt in view of: seeking an economical and social structure fit to furnish the necessary bases to social order, political economy and organization of work. Dr. Neundörfer presented technical reports for the planning and reconstruction of the towns of Hanau, Darmstadt, Pforzheim, Wesel, Bocholt, Cologne, Gelnhausen, Frankfurt and the districts of Offenbach, Borken and Schlüchtern. Address: Schaumamkai, 35, Frankfurt, Germany (Editor's note).

² The author calls *sociography* the science which describes social life: he reserves the word *sociology* for the normative science which aims at the establishing of a social order. The word *sociology* is also employed, especially in several articles in this issue to designate the descriptive science; but in this case, it is often called *positive* sociology (Editor's note).

their junctions (physiology) and their behaviour (psychology); their interaction must also be observed.

These empirical researches have in view an order to be established (sociology), for instance: the new forms of social life to be carried on in a business on a Christian basis.

But, like all life, social life and human activities do not cease to evolve. Sociographical studies must take into account circumstances of time and place. There are, indeed, historical moments when certain traits of social life are seen clearly to stand out, and others where pathological deformities are a menace to the organism.

Germany is living through one of these times. The consequences of the war and the sudden influx of 9,400,000 refugees has entirely changed the social structure: families dispersed, others crowded together because of the lack of housing accommodation or income (families including three generations), the reduction of others to the wife and children alone.

I. GENERAL SOCIOGRAPHY

I. A short survey of results. — We would like to outline the chief groups, so that the reader may see the problems today in western Germany.

The peasants. — Because of the separation between East and West Germany, the structure of the German peasant class has been greatly changed. In the east there used to be large landowners and a strong peasantry. Today, all these people are ruined. As a result, the peasants of the west and southwest have grown in importance. Under great economic pressure and with only oldfashioned tools, they are trying for new methods of cultivation. The family peasant businesses — mediumsized and large — form a stable and conservative class.

Wage earners. — Workers, clerks and lower civil servants tend to form a class by themselves. On them is laid the burden of production and distribution. Their incomes just cover their cost of living. It is usually about 300 to 400 DM.

This class carries the heaviest burden; they are more than 60 % of the population. Their standard of life affects the whole social life of the country. Every political measure affects them.

Their standard of life does not depend solely on the salary of the headwinner, but also on what the other members of the family can contribute.

The MIDDLE CLASSES: artisans, shopkeepers, factory workers, private persons. This group numbers most of those confortably off (the income of 62 % of them is over 400 DM; those of 16 % are more than 1,000 DM). The most well-off can enjoy that «luxury» which is displayed in the towns.

THE INTELLECTUALS (Families whose members have usually been to the universities and the high schools). — From the point of view of income, this group is dispersed among the others. Taking into account the intellectual effort required, they are generally badly paid: the salary of a young teacher is equal to that of a manual worker; the salary of a government official, to that of a qualified workman. There are great difficulties in the lives of some of the professional men, doctors for instance.

The family tradition of these intellectuals is disappearing; their children are becoming labourers. On the other hand, many intellectuals are rising from the ranks of the working class.

The intellectuals are taking up more and more control of the nation, for they provide the experts appointed by the State, parties, economic administration, industries and firms.

Pensioners of public bodies. — This group forms a quarter of the population; a great variety in its standard of life: from the minimum of real poverty to a modest sufficiency. The income of this group, formed outside the natural framework of employment, family and ownership, is ensured by a state pension. It would seem that this group will in the future have great political influence.

2. Situation of organisations. — A. Institutes. — It is rare in Germany today to find experts and institutes devoting themselves to sociography. We must mention the centre for social research (Sozialforschungstelle) at Dortmund, attached to the University of Munster, and the Sociographical Institute (Soziographisches Institut) attached to the University of Frankfurt.

Their number has lately been increased. Some of the new research centres have specialised in one section or method: such are the private institutes which carry out "gallup polls". Others deal with sociography: either by psychology, now the institute of experimental sociology (Institut für empirische Soziologie at Hanover), the Institute of Social Research of the University of Frankfurt; or by political economy: study of families, at the Academy of general economics (Akademie für Gemeinwirtschaft) at Hamburg; or else by social pedagogy: study of villages, at the Pedagogical Academy (Pädagogische Akademie) at Cassel.

B. Sources. — Statistics are difficult to establish. After 1945 very different methods were being used to obtain regional statistics, often without taking into account the old national ones. Basic data are lacking: statistics concerning families, households, houses. Besides which we have not undertaken any general enquiries. The last great social enquiry (1940-43) served to collect facts as to the rural forms of life (more than 3,000 communes were surveyed). On the other hand, numerous partial enquiries, often caused

by social planning, for the purpose of the reconstruction of bombed cities (Cologne, Berlin, Hanover, Ludwigshafen, Pforzheim, Bocholt, Rheine) and the organisation of the refugees, etc. ³

C. Training of future sociographers. — The University of Cologne offers the best opportunity from this standpoint. The specialised institutes lack financial means for the creation of centres for practical exercises; and besides, they are overworked.

II. RELIGIOUS SOCIOGRAPHY

I. Survey of the religious situation. — Our remarks on the general situation in Germany naturally refer to the parochial position also. The civil and economic life of man enters into church matters, as the Christian element influences, or should influence, daily life. "Religious man" is an abstraction like "economic man:" only the whole man is a reality. Problems arise when men belong to several circles which only partially overlap.

The study of the parish presents a real advantage as does that of the other organisms. Parishes live in time and space. In Germany,

their position today is a very unfavourable one.

The picture of the Catholic, Protestant and mixed districts, still living in our memories, has been completely changed by the tremendous migrations of recent years. In the rural districts of the north of Hesse, for instance, the Catholic population has grown from 3 % to 21 %. A new diaspora has been brought about for both Catholics and Protestants. The arrival of Catholic people among other Catholics has complicated their communal life because

³ A word as to the *graphic method* and the *bibliography*. Geography has for a long time made use of certain graphic methods to represent these comparative relationships which words cannot express or which have to be localised. Often, sociography has to do it.

The "social map" differs from the other tables which represent in graphic form the statistical data. These tables make use of columns, partial or whole drawings; the social map, like geography, puts facts in their setting and their complexity.

This method has been tried for representing the various forms of rural life and the different social strata of Cologne. It is chiefly used by the offices which draw up townplanning schemes.

Bibliography. — General work on demography: Ungernsternberg Schubnell, Grundriss der Bevölkerungswissenschaft. In preparation, a general work on sociography: L. Neundörfer, Soziographie (Freiburg-München, Verlag Karl Alber). — Reviews: Die Soziale Welt (Dortmund, Sozialforschungstelle). For bibliographical data, see Bericht zur deutschen Landeskunde (Stuttgart, Verlag S. Hirpel), Zeitschrift für Raumforschung (Bielefeld, Verlag E. Eilers).

of differences in customs (liturgy, prayers, hymns). Pastoral difficulties have arisen for parish priests as well as for chaplains of refugees. Besides which, the coexistence of confessions, the marriages between natives and refugees increase the number of mixed marriages and pretexts for divorce.

2. State of research. — A first attempt at parochial sociography at Cologne-Riehl occasioned an article in the Stimmen der Zeit (vol. 74, Nov. 1948).

The question of the defining of parish boundaries has been dealt with in townplanning. In the rebuilding of old Cologne the cutting of the town into quarters — units with their own schools, administration, business centres and cultural buildings — follows a principle which used to direct the delimitation of parishes. The new parishes count 6,000 to 7,000 souls and correspond to a quarter. ⁴

German Catholics intended to offer Pope Pius XII on the occasion of the Holy Year, an Atlas of the German dioceses, but the scheme fell through owing to lack of funds.

No institute has specialised in the empirical study of ecclesiastical matters and of men as members of the Church. The existing centres are occupied with statistics or with Catholic social teaching.

- 3. *Programme of studies*. With the object of promoting the study of religious sociography we would like to suggest a programme of enquiry.
- A. A general survey of the social structure of the Church communities (Atlas of the dioceses).
 - I. Extent and divisions of the dioceses.
 - 2. Percentage of denominations.
- 3. Relations between the ecclesiastical and secular structures. Examples: the limits of the parishes in the large towns; the parish and the village or the small town; the parochial boundaries and the settlement; the diaspora; the limits of the dioceses and those of the German states (Länder).
- 4. The family, households, the economic structures in circumscribed areas: a) in the whole of the population, b) among Catholics. Example, the life in town and in the country.
- 5. Number of children, fertility of the marriages, divorces: a) generally in each particular place; b) amongst Catholics in particular.

[♠] See Rudolf Schwarz, Das neue Köln, ein Vorentwurf, Köln, 1950. — L. Neundörfer/ Groth, Das Gemeinwesen Köln.

- 6. Church statistics; attendance at Sunday mass, Easter Communion, according to geographical districts, professions, denominational distribution.
- 7. Pastoral structures; size of parishes, number of priests per 1,000 inhabitants, 1,000 Catholics, 1,000 practising. Extraordinary ministries. The diaspora.
 - 8. Return of ecclesiastical taxes according to dioceses and districts.
- 9. Church organisations; training colleges, convents. Number of members, object. Charitable establishments.
- 10. Church associations and societies; number of members relative to spatial divisions, to professions, to distribution of denominations.
 - 11. Schema of the Catholic hierarchy.

Points I to II only show the magnitude of the task as it concerns the map of the diocese; they do not form either a complete programme nor a survey of the whole subject to be studied.

B. Sociography of the parishes. — For the enquiries bearing on all the important structures in the parishes, some method must be devised to enable priests to make a survey for themselves of the fundamental structure of their parish and follow its evolution. They will have to ask for the collaboration of lay apostles, youth and others of goodwill.

Methodology must fix the schemes and the directives to be followed in the survey of the position. Enquiries train priests and lay workers in sociographical work; they reveal the structure of parishes and thus complete the survey indicated under A.

Here are some of the problems of a parish sociography;

- I. In what economic and social area is the parish situated? How do the people live? (without separating the creeds).
- 2. Structure of the family, households, industries, communal administration, political situation.
- 3. Professional structure of the Catholic population; do the Catholics form a special group: are they chiefly working class? or intellectuals?
- 4. What Catholics in the parish are active workers? according to professions, family position, their origin (refugees, for instance).
 - 5. Who interest themselves in associations? in plans?
- 6. Which Catholics never come to church? To which groups do they belong? Where do they come from? Why do they not come to church?
- 7. In the towns: the feeling of belonging to a parish. Attendance at services other than those at the parish church; reasons. Presence of those who do not belong to the parish; reasons.

Although none of these questions (our classification is not complete) reach the real religious relationship of man, church, God,

information on these realities will give a decisive impulse to pastoral activity and to the preaching of the divine word.

- C. Special problems. As in social planning, it is here a matter of profound, sometimes delicate, questions. They are not to be made public, but may be a source of great help in the direction of the pastorate.
- 1. State of religious knowledge among the children, youths, the adults, of the different social grades. Knowledge of the Old and of the New Testament.
 - 2. Motives for divorce; in wholly Catholic marriages and in mixed ones.
- 3. Problems of the communal life of the sexes; in towns and in the country; in districts of only one creed, in mixed districts.
 - 4. Relationship between priests and people; causes of tension.

The Office of Ecclesiastical Statistics for Catholic Germany

Its influence on the pastoral ministry

by Dr. Franz GRONER

Director of the Central Office of Ecclesiastical Statistics, Cologne 1

I. ORGANISATION

The Office of Ecclesiastical Statistics owes its foundation to Fr. Heinrich Krose, S. J. This Office drew up its first surveys in 1915; it published them in 1916 in the 5th volume of the Ecclesiastical Manual of Catholic Germany, edited by Fr. Krose. In 1927 the Central Office undertook the publication of this manual, which thus became its most important organ. Nevertheless, Fr. Krose continued to direct until his death, the department of denominational statistics. After a long interruption, due to the war, we await the issue of the 23rd volume.

The Central Office collects statistics concerning convents, societies and associations, sacerdotal vocations, the Catholic Press, Christian life in the parishes for the whole of Germany. The list of questions are filled in and signed by the curés, checked by the deans, collected by the dioceses and finally reviewed in detail by the Central Office.

The official questionnaire comprises 42 questions, as experience has shown it is necessary to reduce the number, if a certain result is to be obtained. In use for several years, our "questionnaires"

¹ Born at Cologne, 29th June 1913, Dr. Groner worked for seven years in parishes both in town and Country. After his academical promotion, he was tutor at the Bonn theological convict for three years; director of the 'Institut Caritas' for four years. Since last year he directs the Central office of Statistics and prepares the edition of the "Ecclesiastical Year" ("L'Année Eccl'siastique").

have the advantage of being familiar to the parish priests, who

reply conscientiously to them.

The Central Office does not limit its activity to the domain of its own particular work; it regularly deals with statistics concerning schools, missions, the state of the population, other denominations, social crises, etc. and publishes them in the ecclesiastical manual.

Its offices are at Cologne and 6 persons are employed there at the present time. The expenses are borne by the German dioceses.

II. RESULTS

1. Assistance at Sunday Mass; Easter duties.

The statistics concerning Catholic life in Germany are tolerably satisfactory. In 1949 48 % of the Catholics attended Sunday Mass. 53.8 % made their Easter duties and the average number of Communions was 12.8. Those attending Sunday Mass are counted at the church doors; tickets or the register of Easter confessions give the number of Easter communions.

A very important thing to be noticed is the percentage who are exempt from Mass attendance on account of infancy, sickness, or night work. Attendance figures of 75/80 % would be equivalent to 100 % of all those who are obliged by the Sunday precept.

The same applies to the Easter communions.

The results indicated above witness to a visible improvement in Catholic life compared with preceding years. But not yet has the record figure of 1935 been equalled; in that year 56.3% assisted at Sunday Mass; 61.7% communicated at Easter. In the year 1936 the average number of communions for each Catholic was 14.

The Diaspora, the cities and adult men are responsible for the decline. In many places, the percentage of absentees is perceptibly greater than the general average. The lapse in mass attendance and Easter duties appears to be particularly due to years of persecution and the catastrophies of the second world war.

From 1933 to 1944 the Church in Germany has lost 600.000 practising Catholics. Reckoning those who have returned to the Church the first years of national rehabilitation, the whole of the losses is the equivalent of 2 % of the total number of German Catholics. A regrettable fact certainly, but not commensurate with the tremendous efforts of the enemies of the Faith and the hopes they placed in their propaganda. That, in those days of oppression only 2 % of the German Catholics and those mostly absentees

or forced to apostatise, should have abandoned practice of their religion, tells against the prophets of woe and bears witness to the vitality of the Catholics in Germany. We must also mention the continual revival of religious life in the country.

It would seem useful to compare the figures registered in the large towns as to attendance at Sunday Mass, Easter communions and the yearly communions. Of the 22 cities in the Republic, containing more than 200.000 inhabitants, none reach the general national average in the three points indicated above. This statement applies equally to towns where there is a Catholic majority as to the others.

Here is the percentage for Cologne: Mass attendance 29.4 %; Easter communions, 30.2 %; communions for the year, 9.5 for each individual. The same proportion applies for Munich (26.5; 28.6; 7.7), Hamburg (22.7; 24.1; 6.5), and the other large towns. The situation looks more promising where the industrial population is higher: Essen, Dortmund, Gelsenkirchen, Bochum and Oberhausen. It is not true that religious absenteeism is greater in the proletariat than amongst the other classes. However, the cities, as such, impose new and still greater tasks on the pastoral clergy.

It might be objected that the figures which we are using are no certain indication of religious mentality. Some rural districts are perhaps faithful to their practice while being "absent in spirit;" and on the reverse side of the picture, there may exist townsfolk who, while negligent as to Sunday Mass, are animated by a religious spirit. It is impossible to make statistics of hearts and know a man's inner feelings. We can only judge by external behaviour, and convictions have no better testimony than practice.

The return of the lapsed is easier in small departments than in the large ones. The number of parishes and independent departments was 11.756 in 1949, which shows an increase of 2.5 % on the preceding year, when the figure was 11.470. Here we must take into account the territory lost by Germany as the result of two wars.

The creation of new centres not having been able to follow the rhythm of the increase of population, it is only in the smaller pastoral districts that the priest can frequently contact the people, and influence the lapsed.

2. Sacerdotal and religious vocations.

The statistics for vocations for the secular clergy ascertained on 15th November 1949 forecasts an annual average of 560 ordinations during the 5 next years. In Germany in 1949 there were 20,472 secular priests.

Taking the age of 25 as the average ordination, and 65 as the average duration of life, we obtain an average of 40 years of priestly life for the individual. Consequently, an annual recruitment of 512 priests suffices to maintain the actual total. The next 5 years are thus assured by the coming ordinations. However, these will not suffice to fill the void caused by the last 10 years, and to provide for the places left empty by the aged priests. We must add to that the pressing need for new forces to bring back the great number of lapsed.

The recruitment of the *religious orders* looks more favourable: in the middle of 1950 they numbered 7.927, including those living abroad. A contingent of 198 vocations would maintain this number, and we can count on 267 priest/religious for the next 6 years.

During recent decades, the development of the religious orders in Germany was proportionately much superior to that of the secular clergy, and it is being maintained. From 3,014 priests/religious in 1924, we go to 5,282 in 1941 (religious living abroad are not included). The number of secular priests rose from 19,420 in 1924 to 20,669 in 1941, an increase of 75.2 % in the first case and of only 6,4 % in the second.

The number of vocations to the priesthood proves that the faith of our young men is still lively. More significant still is the fact that the percentage of contemplative vocations is far above that of others, both secular and regular. Besides this, a remarkable fact is that youths of 20 to 30 (from whom these vocations are recruited) are only 50.1% of the number in the same age group in 1925. This should give an indication of the spirit of our young men. Which does not mean that the Lord's vineyard does not need many workers still.

In 1924 there were 6.379 convents, in 1950, 7.906; an increase of 28 %. The growth was continuous except in the years 1935-37, a time when the requisitioning of convents caused a falling off.

The overall number of religious sisters has decreased by only about 9 %; 1941, 97.516; 1950, 88.934. These figures prove the splendid effort made by the congregations of women during these difficult years. The number of novices rose to 3.996 in 1950, which assures the maintenance of the actual number of sisters, but provides only 65 % of the average recruitment during 1925 to 1930 (6.101), which was a particularly fertile period. This is partly explained if we note that the number of persons from 20-30 years of age in 1946 represents only 85.6 % of those of the same age in 1925. Besides which, Catholic girls are devoting themselves more and more to charitable works as members of the secular communities approved by the Church. This does not appear in

the statistics given above; if it were taken into consideration the number of religious sisters would be still higher.

The size of recruitment varies very much according to the congregations. The contemplative orders exercise a special attraction, and among the active congregations for women, those associated with sacerdotal congregations or societies see many recruits coming to join them. An effective priestly influence vivifies religious life and attracts souls.

As for the distribution of religious in the various dioceses, there is a serious deficiency in the diaspora, a deficiency which is harmful both to the Church as a whole and to the congregations themselves. The idealism which is so much needed in the diaspora would not fail to produce vocations, as is shown by the years of oppression through which we have lived.

A very great number of nuns is needed in the country: 10.000 at least would be required to fill the gap; charitable works need 26.000. Missions need recruits; and young workers are needed for teaching, small parishes and centres of pastoral work, and there is great need of sisters to do the domestic work for congregations of men. The actual number of novices falls far short of these requirements.

The faithful should realise more clearly the grandeur of the three evangelical counsels. In these latter days we have insisted, and with good reason, on the importance of Christian marriage and of human values. On the other hand, we have emphasised too little the ideal of holiness and virginity in the service of God.

3, Baptisms and marriages.

In 1949 the number of Catholic baptisms is perceptibly superior to that of the preceding years, 16.5 to 1.000. The increase was foreseen for the period after the monetary reform, but also indicates a happy revival of religious vitality. We must however note that in 1936 the percentage was 20.8 and in 1920, 28.1. In 1876 there were 40.9 births to every 1.000.

We must draw attention to a great increase in mixed marriages. In 1919, for every 100 Catholic marriages there were 11.3 mixed;

in 1949, 28.2; in 1946, 29.8.

According to past experience (recent official statistics are still wanting) a third of the mixed marriages on an average which included a Catholic partner, were followed by a ceremony in a Catholic church. Since then we must add to the 28.2 couples married in the Catholic Church in 1949, 56.4 mixed marriages only united by a civil ceremony.

Everyone who is clearsighted must grasp the importance of these percentages for the pastorate, if they continue.

On comparing mixed marriages where the wife is a Catholic with those where it is the husband, we get the following results:

- 1) Girls contracting a civil marriage with a non-Catholic are definitely more numerous than youths who marry non-Catholic women. This was the reverse after the first world war.
- 2) Couples where the wife is Catholic more frequently marry again with a religious ceremony after the civil than where it is the man who is the Catholic.

We can therefore conclude:

- 1) Catholic girls are growing less reluctant to contract a mixed marriage. Without being irreligious, as is proved by their desire to marry in church, they no longer understand as they used the importance of religion in family life. This is caused mainly by the preponderance of women over men.
 - 2) Catholic men dislike mixed marriages more than the girls do.
- 3) Men contracting mixed marriages in 2/3rds of the cases follow the wife's religion, whether Catholic or non-Catholic. In these cases the girls remain attached to their religion, though not putting it in its proper place in the family life; men on the contrary become indifferent to all creeds.

These statements suggest the following advice to the pastoral clergy:

- 1) Young Catholic girls ought to receive a more intensive instruction on the importance of religion in family life;
- 2) Reasons why our Catholic men should not make mixed marriages ought to be put in stronger relief a Catholic girl will be more faithful, a better mother for the children...
- 3) In mixed marriages where the husband is a non-Catholic, we ought to work more actively for his conversion.

We have laboured these points to show by an example what are the possibilities of action which the ecclesiastical statistics denote. Permit us to give another to demonstrate that it is to the interest of the pastorate to study the official statistics. The census of 29th October 1946 showed women in excess of men in Germany. In the four zones and in Greater Berlin there were only 79.4 men to every 100 women. This surplus differs according to ages: the generation of marriageable age was especially hit; between 20 and 40 years the surplus was 4.432.268 women: we counted only 58.7 men to 100 women. The proportion was still less between 23 and 33 years of age: 55.1 to 100. Since the census 100.000 men at least have returned from captivity, but that does not bring about a real change. All the distress which these figures represent will manifest itself plainly when the women lose all hope of fulfilling their life's purpose. Their lot will then

perhaps constitute a real danger, not only for themselves, but for existing marriages.

The pastorate will not find the solution of this problem in religious vocations for women only. Even if the number of female religious was doubled (88.924) the surplus would hardly be affected. The solution might lie in a systematic effort by everyone, even the pastoral clergy, to bring marriage back from its isolation to the family. The modern family is characterised by its tendency to break the multiple links of family life, in confining itself to a circle of only man and wife and young children. Now the complete Christian family is made up of uncles and aunts, friends and acquaintances, domestics and the poor, the dead, and, especially, of grand-parents. There have been times when many of our nation did not marry, but lived closely united in the same household. Many women could thus remain happy and affectionate, using their feminine capabilities, and helping the parents by this means to rear their children more easily.

4. The Catholic Associations.

We must now mention the Catholic associations in Germany. Societies, organisations, associations, abound there; all those prohibited during the years of oppression have revived; besides, the *ersatzorganisationen* then formed, are continuing. The spheres of action are relatively well defined. Among others, they are all grouped around a dozen basic organisations and certain higher groups, formerly not existing, have now been formed. The Deutsche Caritas Verband, for example, holds the first place amongst charitable societies. It is very difficult to obtain exact figures as to membership of these organisations. One gets the impression that many of them are in process of reorganisation and sifting their personnel. How could it be otherwise after the years of interdict?

5. The Catholic Press.

A last word as to the Catholic Press. In 1950 a sample of diocesan papers was distributed to every ten or eleven Catholics (actually 10.7). These papers were chiefly family ones, 40 % of the Catholics took them in and these correspond almost to the number attending Sunday Mass. It is not obligatory to buy these papers; usually the few pence come from economies by the mother of the family. A fairly substancial circulation testifies to the reality of religious convictions. If one takes all the papers published

in Germany one arrives at a figure of one subscription per 3,5 Catholics.

One fact must be mentioned: the Catholic reviews mainly for educated readers are relatively few in number and have no large circulation. This is because there are in existence a number of excellent journals which have a *Christian* appeal. We must not ignore the fact, however, that in spite of their tolerance to all that is Catholic, they are incapable of awakening a *Catholic mentality* among our educated classes.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The Central Office of ecclesiastical statistics publishes figures and often gives advice as to their possible use; but it desires above all to collect material for the pastorate which shall be of great service. Armed with all these data, the clergy must themselves prepare for the future, for there can be no pastoral work without planning. Certainly in our days planning is often excessive, and one plans for the sake of planning, sometimes to the extent of harming the life of individual or social organisms. All the same, there must be planning. Is it not according to a wonderful plan conceived by God that life is perpetuated in the world? To scheme intelligently to procure the advent of the kingdom of God is certainly a pastoral method more worthy of God and of man than an activity which goes on from day to day without an end in view or systematisation. The pastor of souls who improvises is not carrying out one of his spiritual duties. The results of ecclesiastical statistics should, then, suggest apostolate plans for parish, deanery. diocese; the fruitfulness of the ministry is its reward. As for the statistics themselves, their proper task is to show the truth of the position of the Catholic Church in Germany as far as it can be shown in figures. This enumeration of facts and their classification represents the western scientific ideal.

We are convinced that the ecclesiastics in Germany will examine the data collected by the Central Office with care and will seek to utilise it. In the deaneries, the publication of some of the results will arouse emulation. The Office also hopes, as far as possible, to stimulate the Catholic Press. The parish priests, obliged to fill in the questionnaires, will thus exercise an annual selfcontrol. It is their part to fill in the parish files, for which the Central

Office will send them the necessary material.

We believe that we have surveyed the broad outlines of our subject. Lately we have come to know the specialised work in religious sociology in France and the U. S. A. We shall try in

future to direct our own work in accordance with theirs and will receive gratefully any material or suggestions that are kindly sent us.

DISCUSSION

Dr. Groner had given religious practice as the most valid criterion of religious sincerity. He was rather slow to accept other attitudes which are sometimes looked upon as signs of religious

vitality: devotion to one's neighbour, etc.

Fr. Morel, S. J., the national chaplain for the St. Vincent de Paul Conferences, thought that the speaker's mistrust of these signs was excessive. Doubtless, devotion to one's neighbour might simply be inspired by philanthropy; but greater attention to gestures and attitudes, at first sight alike, would lead the observer to distinguish a certain manifestation of devotion which is an indication of real Christian charity, and union with God.

Fr. Delcuve associated himself with Fr. Morel in believing that Dr. Groner overestimated the testimony of religious practice,

while he depreciated that of other attitudes.

In his turn, Fr. Droulers, S. J., declared that too much importance should not be given to the witness afforded by practice. To uphold this opinion, he quoted the evolution of M. Le Bras. On beginning the study of religious practice, the eminent professor had been led more and more to interest himself in the mentality and the more subtle indications of Christian vitality.

In the course of his talk, Dr. Groner had mentioned the dramatic position of the refugee Catholics of the Diaspora. On the suggestion of Dr. Ermecke, professor of moral theology at Paderborn, Mgr Alex. Gabriel, director of the "Bonifatiusverein," was invited to speak about his work: the apostolate in the Diaspora.

Mgr Gabriel demonstrated the contrast between the position of former days and that of the present time. Before the war, there were in the Diaspora, 600.000 Catholics, with 2.388 priests. Today, the number of the faithful has increased tenfold (6.200.000) while that of the priests has not even been doubled (3.800). Reinforcements are needed urgently; secular and regular priests and catechists. The number of churches is notoriously insufficient; often, Mass has to be celebrated in a Protestant building. 1.745 churches need to be built; in actual fact, 350 have been erected. The priests, who all have to serve and instruct several villages each, need vehicles. 300 have been found; 2.000 are required. Would to God that Catholics would take an interest in their refugee brethren in this once Catholic district!

Influence of Environment on Religious Training of Young Workers

by Ernest Antony
Director of the Commercial School, Worms 1

INTRODUCTION

I. What do we mean by "Young Workers?"

The "Young Workers" whose religious training we are about to consider, comprise all boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18 who are either apprenticed to some trade, or are working without previous training, or work with their parents.

That is enough to show that we are not dealing with one particular environment, nor with a clearly determined group with the same capabilities and tendencies. On the contrary, we are faced with a diversity of conditions, all having their different repercussions upon religious formation.

Four classes are to be considered:

Factory workers, Those engaged in commerce, Agricultural workers, and Domestic workers.

¹ Born at Bechtheim (a district of Worms) on the 2nd July 1907, Ernest Antony studied at the gymnasia of Mainz and Worms. From 1923 to 1930 he was in business. After having passed the Abitur (bachelor's degree) in 1932, he studied at the University for four years; he obtained the diploma of commerce and professorship of commerce at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University (Frankfurt). Since then, Dr. Antony has been in succession: assistant at the University (1936-1939), professor at the school of commerce at Frankfurt (1940-1946), head of the school of commerce at Worms. — Works: Die geistige Situation der heutigen Berufsschuljugend (Donauwörth, 1949), Die Erziehung zum Beruf (Darmstadt, 1950). — Address: Töpferstr., 3. Worms, Germany (Editor's note).

Whilst the three last do have certain resemblances, the first class is quite distinct: it includes young people who have been trained for the position of artisan or technician, passing the necessary examinations, and also those who go straight to work without professional training and are content to remain manual workers. Among these, differences in size and type of plant create differences of problems. We have the small factory in which the youngster works with the owner, and the huge establishments with ten thousand workers. Because of the great diversity of tasks, youths unequally gifted are mixed together.

The class engaged in commerce is much more homogeneous. Here, also, the type of business varies; so does the work and other conditions. However, taken as a whole there are more points of resemblance. There is more unity in the work (chiefly mental): the offices, even in big firms, are not as extensive as the factories,

and aptitudes are more similar.

The two classes of agricultural and domestic workers are even less diversified. The work of the former is seasonal, much the same everywhere: it is done in the open and almost without human companions. The domestic worker is also isolated, with but few companions.

These remarks show how wide is the term "Young worker," and consequently how numerous will be the influences at work. Yet we are now in a position to use the expression without denoting some unreal creature. We will understand the sometimes contradictory influences in different environments. Nor must we forget that along with outside influences the individual's own dispositions contribute to the formation of the man. Finally, the divine action of grace is a necessary element in the birth and development of personality.

2. The diversity of milieux.

By "milieu" we mean all the outside formative agents acting upon the youth and influencing his religious development. These numerous and varied agents, may be either things or persons. The latter are preponderant; yet we should not forget all the things connected with work.

The nature of his work undoubtedly has a deep influence upon a young man. An easy and pleasant task, performed in agreeable surroundings, makes belief in the love and goodness of God more easy than difficult work, carried on from morning to night under bad conditions. To workers who are not overburdened, Sunday services are a joy and relaxation, whilst for others, attendance at Mass means cutting down one's rest on the only holiday in the week. It is the same with daily prayer. Whereas one worker is not exhausted at the end of the day and can play, read and pray, another will fall off to sleep without being able to give a thought to God. The following statements by young workers, are worth considering:

I. I seldom go to church. As I am very tired, I sleep till II o'clock (a mason apprentice aged 15).

2. I am irregular in my attendance at Mass on Sundays. I am so tired and

lazy (factory girl aged 15).

3. I go twice a month to church. I haven't time to do more, for I have too much work to do (apprentice locksmith, aged 16).

4. I don't often pray because I'm tired (manual worker aged 14). 2

Among the human influences upon the young worker, the first place must be given to the family, centre of his thoughts, feelings and actions, particularly at the beginning of his career. The habits acquired from parents, brothers and sisters persist, or at least still influence him. In course of time the work environment takes first place. The heads, foremen, comrades and customers constitute this milieu. If their attitude to religion and the Church is negative, he will often give way to human respect, and consider his early faith or churchgoing as old-fashioned.

To these influences must be added those met with out of working hours: the Christian community and its religious associations, cultural societies, political parties, sports clubs and friends of both

sexes.

And besides, there are the cinema, wireless, and other methods of propaganda too numerous to mention.

I. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL POSITION OF THE YOUNG WORKER

What has been said demonstrates the impossibility of giving a standard type of young worker, of defining accurately his attitude to the faith, religious practice and moral conduct. We can only describe the average fundamental attitude, and try to avoid oversimplification.

The age between 14 and 18 is the time of puberty or maturity.

² The statements quoted in the course of this article are the answers to an enquiry made during a great number of religious courses in professional schools in order to find out the influence of the milieu on religious teaching.

On entering it, the youth has passed the stage of pure receptivity.

He no longer accepts statements uncritically.

The spirit of criticism is not only to religion but also to his profession or work. But it is in the problems which transcend unaided reason that it is most manifested.

Religious practice. — Some young people look upon the faith of their ancestors as a constraint: "Why," they ask, "should we be baptised at birth in our parents' faith and be bound to it for life whether we wish or no?" This question does not signify apostasy on their part, as some might think. An even more critical attitude is desirable; for the pupils who reply to our question, "Do you pray, do you go to church, and if so, why?" usually refer to family habit without examining the reason for the habit.

I go to Mass because I don't know any better.

My parents think a lot of it.

I was taught that way.

My mother is pleased if I do.

There are fortunately many others who are more positive in their ideas. It is not possible to quote all the answers giving reasons for their pious practices and their attendance at church. These reflections made by schoolchildren, still awkward at expressing themselves, are often astonishing. The following are some typical answers:

Concerning prayer:

I pray because I know that Jesus is God and I love my faith.

Out of gratitude and love of God.

Out of reverence for God.

My conscience makes me.

Christ is the Lord. I thank Him for His love in prayer.

It often helps me in need.

In prayer I wish to honour and praise God, my Creator.

We exist to honour God, therefore we must adore Him.

I pray so as to get to know God better each day.

Motives for attendance at Mass:

I assist regularly at Mass in order to celebrate the day with God.

I go to Mass each Sunday so as to be strong against temptation during the week.

I go regularly to church because I find the Saviour there.

I go to church to receive Christ.

Yes, every Sunday to honour the day and observe the commandments: at church one cannot learn anything bad.

A Sunday when I have not been to church is no Sunday for me.

Naturally they are not all upholders of prayer and attendance at church; some are forgetful. The following is, however, positive enough: "Sometimes I am bored by prayer but I am firm with myself."

Some young people, badly instructed, do not know how to behave

at prayer and during the services:

Praying does not help me.

I seldom pray because I don't find any pleasure in it.

Never; no interest in it.

I feel nothing when praying.

I can't make up my mind to pray.

Some say that they go to church irregularly without any particular reason being given. One apprentice goes to meet his companions whom he would not otherwise see. As a religious motive, it is

very slight!

This survey drawn from the technical school of a medium sized town, the population of which is very mixed as to religious belief, shows that the majority of the young workers — Catholic and Protestant — are in favour of religious practice. Elsewhere, especially in the large industrial centres, the situation can be very different: for instance, in a large town on the Rhine, a class for young nurses contained amongst thirteen attending a religious course, only one who practised her religion. The following year there were seven, and the year after one only who did not.

Many examples go to prove how frequent is a desire for religion amongst them. It is later that they abandon their faith and religious exercises. The cause is usually neglect to supplement the knowledge of religion gained in infancy; a gap is made which is difficult

to bridge later on.

However, even where the faith is no longer apparent, it happens that the soul struggles against external opposition. For example, a

carpenter's apprentice of 15:

Believe me, I pray more than a person who goes to church every Sunday. I pray because then my conscience is clear. Although I want to, I hardly ever go to church, because my father does not hold with it.

Asked if he read Catholic books or periodicals, this boy answered: I haven't got the money for that: I would rather buy something to eat.

What hard circumstances do those words imply!

Finally, a word as to the attendance at the religious course in a technical school holding about 4.000 pupils. The total number of abstentions was fourteen (five young people considering that to teach religion in a professional school was unworthy of the name). On the advice of the head of the school they gave it a trial, and finally only nine persisted in their refusal.

Morality. — Enquiry as to morals is more difficult than as to religious practice: a questionnaire on purity would call forth but few sincere replies; moreover, speaking pedagogically, it is not advisable. We are therefore obliged to fall back on ideas and conjectures. The number of pregnancies amongst the girls is no sufficient indication, for the most dissolute among them are fully conversant with the use of contraceptives. We read in a Catholic weekly Der christliche Sonntag (13 August 1950) the following:

The official figures allow us to conclude that in Bavaria 25 % of those ill from sexual diseases are young people. While in 1942 there was one abortion for every 22 births, in 1949 that figure has increased tenfold.

A conversation overheard by a mistress between girls at a professional school illustrates the attitude of many young people on this subject. They were talking about a fellow student who was pregnant; they were indignant, not that she was in such a condition, but because she was doing nothing about it, "For," they said, "we all take steps when such a thing happens to us."

An experienced teacher can often realise when his pupils are going wrong, for their whole being gets out of gear; but it is seldom that he can do any good by talking to them.

Finally, here is the verdict of a teacher of religion in the industrial region of Westphalian Rhineland:

Before the last war most of the young working girls saved the money which they earned. To day they have to hand over most or all of it to their parents; they do not keep enough pocketmoney. In this predicament, their boyfriends assist them financially.

It is easy to imagine the moral dangers which result from this dependence.

II. INFLUENCE OF THE MILIEUX ON RELIGIOUS LIFE

I. The influence of the family.

One cannot overestimate the influence of a religious family atmosphere. All evidence goes to prove that the majority of the young workers when giving reasons for their praying and going to church point to family customs. Amongst Protestants the answer: "Because my parents taught me to" is almost universal.

The attempt has been made to find out the effect on the children of mixed marriages; and the following questions were put:

Are your parents still living? Are they both Catholic or Protestant? If not, which is Catholic and which Protestant? Do you live with your parents or with others? Do you speak of religious matters with your parents and your brothers and sisters? Do you all pray together at home, or singly, or not at all? What arguments have you for or against prayer? Do you go to church services? Regularly? How often? What is your reason for going or not going? Do you read religious books, magazines or papers?

With a few exceptions, the result was as follows: in the *Catholic* families conversations on religion are relatively frequent. Family prayers take place in about half; the majority pray in private. Sunday worship is the regular thing; in the Catholic communities they go twice to church.

This is a striking example of the influence exercised on its members by a truly Catholic family: A commercial apprentice, aged over 20 writes:

I do not exaggerate in saying that our family is deeply Catholic, that all our life is built round the faith. We say grace before and after meals together, but morning and evening prayers in private. (He gives as his personal motives:) I wish to remain in contact with my Creator. I go to church because I believe in God and because I wish to respond to the divine invitation: I go every Sunday and also during the week when I have the chance. I belong to the local 'Kolpingsfamilie' and go to the weekly meetings.

This deeply religious way of living cannot but have its influence in the workshop. When asked if his fellow workers jeer at the Church and at religion, he replied:

As a rule they do not. If it does occur, I say, " If you are not interested in God, at least leave those alone who are; they won't worry about you."

In the *Protestant* families, according to the data given, religion is less talked about. Prayer in common is no longer practised, but private prayer is. Churchgoing is less frequent, owing, no doubt, to the difference between Catholic and Protestant points of view. (The Sunday precept is often mentioned as the reason for Catholics going.)

The picture is darker in the families of mixed marriages. Practically no mention of religion or prayer together: opinions differ and the prayers are not the same. It is not to be wondered at if the children of these marriages fall easily into indifference on the subject of religion. We often hear:

Prayer means nothing to me. — I don't pray, because we don't pray at home. — I don't go regularly to church because I am wanted at home.

This last statement shows very clearly the opposition of certain parents to religious influences, most frequent in the families of mixed marriages.

2. Influence of working conditions.

The influence of the place in which they work can be negative or positive: too often, alas, it is negative. The influence varies in intensity according to the size of the business. In a small establishment, the youth is working either alone with the owner or with a few companions, and the atmosphere is patriarchal. The effect is similar to that of family life. The employer sets the tone of the conversations. When these are like conversations heard at home, well and good. When they are contrary to the same, doubt arises in the young man's mind: who is right, parents or boss? These doubts are the greater in proportion to the technical skill of the master; if he is an adept at his job, he must know best about other things. In passing let it be said, that apprentices should be entrusted only to masters whose character, religion and philosophy agree with those of his family.

In large works, the employer is not seen; fellow workers take his place. Conversations on faith and religion are mostly unfavourable, for the atheists and mockers are more noisy than the believers who so often through human respect are afraid of saying anything lest they fail to satisfy their opponents. Yet a good answer would reduce them to silence and stop them from doing harm. Naturally it is extremely difficult for the youngsters to make them keep quiet; the position of apprentice prevents them being taken seriously and obliges them to keep silent. When asked what they do, the usual reply is, "I don't take any notice. I let them go on till they stop. "

But in the long run the youngsters are influenced. If so many workers live as strangers to the Church and religion, it is because of their companions and the persistent jeers and jibes which pass without any protest from those who have faith.

Young people should be trained to give answers. A courageous word does not go unnoticed. Those who have a solid family upbringing in the faith and who belong to Youth Movements are often very active in this way.

The following example proves the harm that is done: A technical draughtsman aged 16 writes: "I don't care about praying. I have not been to church for a year, as I consider it to be childish." This youth works in a large plant where, as he himself says, they are always speaking against religion.

The *morality* of the young is threatened in all classes of business when the boss and the other workers are not morally irreproachable. There are dirty jokes which make fun of morality, religion and holy things. This is particularly contagious, especially to girls, whose sense of independence is fostered by it. Here is a case which shows the harm caused by those who have no conscience. The head of a dressmaking establishment had for long exercised an evil influence over her apprentices. Her conversation was almost always immoral and she initiated the girls into the use of contraceptives. One of the latter had at last the courage to tell her mother, which caused the competent authorities to take action and to remove the girls.

3. The influence of other agents.

Let us first of all consider the effect of the parish upon the religion of the young. Where there is a fervent parochial life, each individual attends Mass and the Sacraments. Where the community is lukewarm, the individual too, is slack. It can be observed that, where there is a mixed population, the parochial life is as a rule less fervent than where all or the majority are Catholic. But in the latter case, one does meet with a more solid religious sense. Where the whole community attends Mass and the Sacraments out of custom there is a routine Catholicism which does not stand the stress of a change of atmosphere to indifference or open hostility. In saying this, we are not accusing Catholics of homogeneous communities of being inferior to those in mixed ones: a fervent parochial life, even if it is customary, can inspire the weak with a strength and spirit to which the others are strangers.

There are in most parishes today some form or other of *Youth Movement* which band the young workers together. Some are only for them, as for instance, the "Kolpingsfamilie" for textile workers, the "Katholischer kaufmännischer Verein" and the "St. Lydia-Gruppen" for those in commerce. Their influence on the training of young people is remarkable.

There are other associations which seek to attract the young workers, *political* or *recreational*. The former are not very successful, for the young do not interest themselves greatly in politics; their influence may be either positive or negative, according to their philosophy. Although few in number, those who do belong are strongly affected by them. As to the games clubs, they usually declare themselves neutral on the matter of religion. It depends on the members themselves what trend their conversations take. But

one thing is to be remarked, and that is that the greater number of the clubs fix the time for their activities to coincide with the time for church services, or else the players need that time for travelling. This prevents their Sunday duties. Here are a few answers from boys:

I do not go regularly to church because I want to play football.

No, I only go three times a quarter because of football.

I seldom go to church because I play games and prefer to go to the field. Sunday twice a month because I must play football.

In spite of their small numbers these witnesses give an unfavourable impression of the effect of the clubs.

We must draw attention to another point: the games obsession which takes hold of so many people, the betting, the sporting papers and all the rest of it, takes the place of interest in religion. Sunday observance is killed by the sporting event of the afternoon. The young workers, occupied all the week, have only their Sundays on which to reflect and turn away from their daily round: if this day is to be occupied with mundane things also, this earthly life is to have no links with the other world.

Much might be said about the craving for pleasure and excitement among the young workers. They too want "to get something out of life" and, having wages in their pockets, it is easier for them to procure amusement than it is for students at the higher schools or the universities. The cinema must be mentioned, for it occupies a preeminent place in their lives. But these matters demand an article to themselves. ³

We will end by repeating that their surroundings exert an enormous influence on the religious and moral formation of the young workers. All teachers, and especially those who teach religion in technical schools, have the pressing task before them of studying these surroundings. Here we can only outline the problem and give examples which vary from one case to another, although fundamentally the problems are the same. It is for each one to discover the particular cases and make a plan to deal with them, for we are not educating a homogene ous mass but individuals each with an immortal soul.

³ Cf. a full study of these matters in our book Die geistige Situation der heutigen Berufsschuljugend, Donauworth, 1949.

The Influence of Evacuees and Refugees on the Religious Practice of Rural Catholics

Enquiry made in three rural Bavarian deaneries

by Emmeran Scharl
Centre of Bavarian Catholic Youth, Munich 1

1. Development of religious practice in three typical deaneries.

Bavaria, a Catholic part of Germany, did not have the Reformation or the Kulturkampf. Only the subtle National-Socialism found a Judas in every village and caused great harm. Nationalist education and the war affected chiefly its rural youth who passed abruptly from a Christian milieu into a world which was strange and even hostile to faith and morals. Before 1939 there were 59 departments in Bavaria with over 95 % Catholics; in 1949 there was only one. The influx of evacuated townspeople and of those driven from their homes had entirely transformed the country people.

The evacuees who were received in the three rural deaneries under review were made up of two-thirds North Germans, mainly Prot-

estants. 2

After 1946 refugees arrived, also from Protestant regions (Rumania, Lower Silesia, Eastern Prussia). This explains the great increase in the non-Catholic population of the deaneries of Altomünster

¹ Born at Munich on the 4th December 1911, Emmeran Scharl studied at Rome from 1923 to 1940. In 1947 he became chaplain of the Bavarian Rural Youth Movement. In December 1948, he started *Der Pflug*, the organ of the Rural Youth Movement. He still edits it. — Work: *Recapitulatio mundi*, Freiburg, Herder, 1941. — Address: Widenmayerstrasse 2, München 22, Germany (Editor's note).

² Statistical manual for Bavaria 1949, p. 145.

(856 % from 1932 to 1949), Bad Aibling (355.9 % from 1932 to 1949) and München-Land (589 % from 1938 to 1949). The majority of the refugees were Sudeten Germans, who called themselves Catholic, seldom went to church and but rarely received the sacraments.³ Distance from their native land and, above all, their expulsion from it, accentuated their indifference to religion; hence there was an increase in the numbers of the Catholics without a corresponding increase in practice. The proportion of refugees in the total number of the population can only be indirectly deduced from ecclesiastical statistics (increase in Catholics and non-Catholics).

According to a report of the Refugee Bureau, from the 1st January 1949, 70.1 % of the 1,913,000 refugees were sent into the country, that is, to communes of less than 4,000 inhabitants. 25 % of the rural population is now made up of refugees: in our deaneries there is one to every three inhabitants.

What has been the religious influence of this influx, comparable to a large-scale migration? To answer this question we have chosen three typical deaneries, formerly exclusively Catholic.

Altomünster is purely rural, containing 17,330 souls in 17 parishes, the only important area being Altomünster, with 2,770 inhabitants.

Aibling, which has industrial works and also tourist traffic, has 42,812 souls in 20 parishes. It contains Bad Aibling (13,000) and Kolbermoor (7,800), an industrial town.

München-Land contains 24,332 souls in 14 parishes. Partly suburban, it is situated in the district of the same name, which has received the greatest number of refugees in all Bavaria.

The dates given above mark the chief stages:

1932, before Nazism,

1938, during Nazism before the war,

1946, the great influx of refugees,

1948, the emergence of the present situation (1949 for München-Land).

By "religious practice" we mean attendance at church services, reception of Holy Communion and the carrying out of Easter duties. Our figures are taken from the B statistical tables of the central

^{3 &}quot;It is certain that the religious life of the German Sudetens, above all from the point of view of attendance at services in church and the reception of the Sacraments, was on the whole lower than the average for Germany... All the same, in spite of their poor attendance at religious observances the German Sudetens are actually consciously or unconsciously Christians." E. TRILLER, priest in charge of refugees, in "Das Dorf," March-April 1949, p. 28.

bureau of ecclesiastical statistics, kindly furnished us by the deaneries. Note that, contrary to United States statistics, German ecclesiastical statistics include children and old people, unable to go to church, besides lapsed Catholics if baptised and contributing to outdoor collections.

ALTOMÜNSTER DEANERY				
	1932	1938	1946	1948
Catholics	12,124	11,581	16,554	16,374
Non-Catholics	99	127	913	956
Communions	207,162	202,941	206,026	199,910
Easter duties	10,101	9,595	9,283	10,277
Practising	8,237	7,174	8,558	9,007
Percentage of Catholics.				
Easter duties	83.33	84.86	56.09	62.75
Church attendance	67.96	61.96	51.71	55.03
Increase in number				
of non-Catholics		27	813	856
AIBLING DEANERY				
Catholics	28,696	28,494	37,969	39,347
Non-Catholics	769	1,433	3,466	3,465
Communions	203,646	202,177	277,166	284,958
Easter duties	18,277	16,450	17,717	19,414;
Practising	14,918	12,888	14,649	15,687
Percentage of Catholics.				
Easter duties	63.6	57.7	46.6	49.3
Attending church	52	45.2	38.3	39.9
Increase in non-Catholics		88.5	356	355.9
München-Land Deanery				
Catholics		11,933	19,801	21,316
Non-Catholics		512	1,974	3,016
Communions		68,823	98,653	107,836
Easter duties		6,886	7,769	
Practising		5,245	6,670	7,560
Percentage of Catholics				
Easter duties		57.5	39.2	43.5
Attending church		43.96	33.5	35.5
Increase in number				490
of non-Catholics			333.3	589

2. The influence of the evacuees and refugees upon religious life.

A. The religious life, especially among youth, was weakened but not stifled by National-Socialism. — At first, Christian practice and customs were stronger than the propaganda in favour of the racial myth. We can see this by comparing the figures before and during Nazism (1932 and 1938). From 1932 to 1938 the number of practising Catholics and the number of those who performed their Easter duties were respectively decreasing as follows:

- 68 % to 62 % and 83.3 % to 82.9 % in Altomünster deanery - 52 % to 45.2 % and 63.6 % to 57.7 % in Aibling deanery As the deanery of München-Land was only created in 1937, it can offer no figures.

B. The rural Catholic population completely lacks any missionary spirit and is not adapted to the conditions of the diaspora. - This is seen in the extraordinary diminution of religious life during the years 1938 to 1946. The misfortunes of war did not lead to more prayer; on the contrary, even the native inhabitants, whose good traditions are attested by the statistics of 1932 to 1938, were contaminated by the tepidity of the numerous refugees. In Catholic villages one has often heard since 1946: "If the refugees have no need to pray, neither have we. "Thus has been verified in the country districts the phenomena continually remarked upon by priests in the large towns and in the army: rural Catholics cannot stand up to changed conditions. An example from after the war of 1914-18 confirms this: the parish priest of an entirely Catholic country parish kept an account for fifteen years of all his parishioners who left for the town and found that only 5 % of them took an active part in the life of their new parishes.

These data allow us to judge religious practice: is it a routine affair soon to die out, or is it a personal commitment capable of growth? The period 1946 to 1948/9 already provides an answer.

C. The original inhabitants faithful to their religious practices and the refugees who remain firm in their faith win over a part of the refugees who at first stood aside. — The proof of this is seen in the increased church-going and reception of Sacraments 1946-1948/49

	Practising	Catholics	Easter	duties
Altomünster deanery Aibling deanery München-Land deanery	1946	1949	1946	1949
	51.7%	55 %	~ /0	
		39.9%	46.6%	49.3%
	33.5%	35.5%	39.2%	43.5%

One cannot therefore talk of a complete paganisation of the countryside. As long as the rural population continues to lead on its own soil a family life rooted in Christian traditions for more than a thousand years, the arrival of the newcomers may inspire in the countrypeople and their priests a reaffirmation of their personal faith and a renewal of liturgical life. These regions do not need a new evangelisation, but a re-evangelisation. This is the aim of the "Katholische Landjugendbewegung." At the New Year, 1950, His Lordship Paulus Rusch, bishop of the Tyrol, where the situation is no better than in Bavaria, gave as slogan for the apostolate: "Rebuild to last."

- D. The choice between superficial religious practice and a personal and apostolic commitment will greatly affect social conditions. The fact of the presence of one refugee for every three inhabitants is more than a temporary problem of charity; it is a social problem which has weighed heavily on the country since 1946. How can they be provided with shelter, clothes, food, work? Two thirds of them come from towns and are unused to work in the country. Here is the opportunity for religious practice to show its efficacy in the social sphere. The foregoing statistics are silent on the matter and we can only hazard some conjectures.
- a) Answering the question put by Pflug, the review of the "Katholische Landjugendbewegung" in Southern Germany: "Is there any Christian charity in the villages?" a schoolmaster thus sums up his own observations and the 60 or so replies received: "Does Christian charity reign in the village? Yes, to the extent that acts of charity are looked upon as the exceptions. Does pagan egotism reign in the village? Yes, to the extent that it is not even noticed." One appreciates all the more the value and the force of the first 'yes,' humble though it be. 4
- b) The directors of Caritas Catholica and the promoters of the settlement schemes see the opposition on the part of the peasants to the settling of the refugees among them: meetings to help on the work have had very poor results in the deaneries. Both pastors and people blame the newcomers for squandering the money given them by the official committees and of not wanting to settle down, owing to the chimerical hope of returning to their own homes.

An English journalist has very aptly compared this great expul-

[•] Der Pflug, the organ of the Rural Youth Movement, München 22, Widenmayerstrasse 2, February 1950, p. 15.

sion of peoples to a "communist delayed action atomic bomb." If it has not yet exploded among us since 1946 it is thanks to the all embracing charity of Christians, both native and refugee. Help formerly given to their own countrymen has now to be diverted to strangers and an increased love of one's neighbour in the spirit of the Gospel is called forth. Under present circumstances, such neighbourly love is no longer a counsel but a commandment; on it depends the continuation of the religious progress which our statistics show to exist. For religion, even in Bavaria, is shown forth by charity.

The Church and the Masses

by Nicholas Monzel

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I

We see today the realisation of the predictions of Comte, Hegel, Nietzsche, Burckhardt and Newman; we are living in the mass age. Contemporary writers such as Spengler, Ortega y Gasset, Jaspers and Huizinga have drawn the sombre picture

of the impact of the mass on our age.

What do we mean by 'the mass?' In the numerous writings on the subject, the word indicates either the rowdy mob, ephemeral dynamic, excited crowds, or else peaceful herds, big passive groups, content to leave their social responsibilities in the hands of their leaders. In both, conformity is the criterion of truth and morality. It is strange that this alienation of responsibility, although recognised at all times as a mark of the mass, is never put forth as the essential characteristic even in the technical works of psychologists and sociologists. ² Yet it is because they refuse to think

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Principal works: — Struktursoziologie und Kirchenbegriff, Bonn, Hanstein, 1939. — Die Überlieferung. Phänomenologische und religionssoziologische Untersuchungen über den Traditionalismus der christlichen Lehre, Bonn, Hanstein, 1950. Articles in various reviews. — Address: Martinstrasse, 4, Rheinbach bei Bonn, Germany (Editor's note).

² An exception is the article of Kurt Stavenhagen, Masse und Gemeinschaft. in Der Bund, 1948-1949 (Wuppertal, Marées-Verlag). I owe some very interesting ideas to this article. I myself have been occupied with the problem for many years, cf. my books Struktursoziologie und Kirchenbegriff (Bonn, 1939, p. 53 and seq.) and Die Überlieferung (Bonn, 1950, p. 35 and seq.).

for themselves that the masses are intellectually lazy, and passive-

ly accept the ideas and values imposed from outside.

We encounter not only the sentimental intoxication described by Scheler, but also intellectual intoxication, either unconscious or conscious and voluntary. It is the effect of their abdication of all personal opinions and all control by authority. Refusing all responsibility, the masses bend easily before the will of another. They let themselves be led by strong passing impressions. This fundamental irresponsibility also explains their impulsive and disorderly behaviour. When led, they can as Le Bon shows, accomplish acts of heroism, but it is with their eyes shut, without knowledge of the values involved, without personal commitment. Their deeds are thus of lessened moral worth and more often brute satisfaction since control by reason is absent. Finally, without any sense of personal responsibility, the masses are intransigent. When gregarious man sees his numbers increase, when the overpopulation of large cities and industrial centres allows him to assert himself, the masses become conscious of their existence and strength, proclaim their right to level down and they deny the individual the right to move out of the ranks.

There have always been men with the herd instinct. Does not every human being tend to push on the others the burden of personal and collective responsibilities? Is it not the chief trait of the "tendency from youth to evil" which the Scripture mentions as a consequence of original sin? Like many sociological concepts. integration in the mass is a matter of degree. Every social class is subject to it. But the lower classes, bound to corporal labour, often purely mechanical and degrading, offer a particularly favourable terrain to depersonalisation. More than anyone, they need the guidance of the élite in their thought, judgment and action. Submission to such direction, recognised as legitimate after mature reflection, does not in itself constitute mass behaviour. For then it is not a shirking of responsibility, but rather acceptance of help judged to be necessary for the realisation of higher values. Nevertheless, the man who is thus relieved of part of his responsibilities by authority, runs a very great danger of being swallowed up in the mass.

In our times, many people who formerly would have belonged to the social élite by reason of their intellectual abilities, have adopted the mass mentality. Whether their depersonalisation is more or less their own fault, the fact of their behaviour comes from two social causes. In the first place, the concentration of civilised populations which has increased so considerably in the last 150

years has been accentuated by the modern technique of information and propaganda: papers, cinema, wireless. In the second place, social organisations of every kind: towns, states, churches, corporations, etc.; all these require a more and more centralised control, a more mechanised bureaucracy. Every new technique of information involves a greater danger of depersonalisation; these vast organisms, socially necessary, encourage the transfer of personal responsibilities to anonymous powers.

The intellectual themselves run this danger, to which for them is added the necessity of justifying their existence as politicians, scientists, artists, priests, to the spiritually submissive lower classes. They do this by asserting their exclusive devotion to the

interests of the people. Such is the age of the masses.

What action can be taken by those who, being conscious of the danger of excessive proletarianisation and having some influence in the sphere of politics, culture or religion, bear responsibility

for the spiritual life?

Three attitudes are possible: two negative and one positive. Firstly, the caste spirit; intellectuals, gracefully detaching themselves from the crowd, group together in cultural circles or religious sects to save themselves from decadence. Alas, they do not realise that the fear of responsibility, therefore the gregarious instinct, haunts every man's heart, their own included. Is not this graceful abandonment of the masses a way of referring common responsibilities to anonymous bodies or to the fatalism of history, or to the play of sociological laws, etc. ? What illusion in those who make their own the words of Horace: "Odi profanum vulgus et arceo?" The flood of mass psychosis will not carry their raft to a better shore, but will engulf it. Our humanist poets, Stefan George and the others, died too soon to see this day. Those who today take a refined delight in the ironic and courteous Europeanism of Ortega y Gasset will perhaps soon see these cultural islets submerged by the mounting sea of gregarious instincts.

Secondly, another negative reaction is political. It consists in exploiting ignorance in favour of the material wellbeing of the few. Useless to educate the people! Give them food, games, practical instruction, but only so that the élite may be free from drudgery, only to serve as a background to an exclusively aristocratic culture! This was Nietzsche's advice, put in practice by fascist politicians.

Against this cynical spirit of domination, the watchful Christian feels, as Kierkegaard wrote in his journal of 1854, "the hor-

ror and sorrow which must fill the heart of anyone who, aware of the profound meaning and infinite value of each individual,

sees them exploited by the million."

Concerning the exclusive circles we referred to above, hear him again (Journal 1847): "The aristocracy are complacent at the idea of the mass destroying itself; but they are careful not to say that they live apart and act as though those masses did not exist. Behold their impiety: so as to ensure their own comfort, they refuse to enlighten others." Why 'impiety? Because each and every man is the image of God, and this likeness is deformed in the mass; levelling and anonymity have obscured his individuality and beauty.

Thirdly, the only positive attitude is to reveal or rediscover the individual's dignity and the value of personal responsibility: not a haughty disregard of facts, not cultural or political exploita-

tion, but a real desire to educate.

The Church which from her origins has been the "Church of the people" adopts this last attitude. Her doors are open to the timid and fearful; thanks to her sanctifying influence, she offers them the best opportunities of lifting themselves out of the mass. A glance at her history reveals the way which she has followed midway between the isolation dear to the élites and the sects and a purely outward beneficence. Her attitude has not always been free from danger to the sacred treasure of God's Word and the sacraments confided to her.

II

We know that the primitive Christian communities did not contain "many wise, not many mighty not many noble" (I Cor. I, 26). However, from the second century "intellectuals" were admitted in greater numbers. Many among them soon became conscious of the gap between them and the uneducated with regard to understanding the Christian message. Pride played a great part in the dissemination of the Gnosis which gave to intellectuals and philosophers the privilege of a deeper comprehension of the Christian revelation, a higher Christianity. None the less there existed and still exists degrees in religious knowledge to be imputed to the diversity of intellectual gifts and educational advantages. The Church teaches us that for the less gifted, especially those whose backs are bowed beneath the burden of corporal work, an elementary knowledge constitutes a sufficient

minimum. If such people know only the fundamental Christian truths, but say from the bottom of their hearts "My God, I believe all that Thou hast revealed and that the Church proposes for our belief," they belong to the Church. Fides implicita has

opened the doors to them.

By her opposition to Montanism during the second and third centuries, the Church repulsed a second attempt at limiting her sphere of action. Should we not, said the Montanists, turn out of the Church those Christians who, after receiving baptism and Communion and declaring themselves ready to suffer martyrdom for Christ, fall again into grave sin? Could the Church, the "community of saints," allow among her members those whose weakness caused them constantly to relapse, men quickly corrupted by the low morality of their heathen surroundings? The Church condemned the rigorism of Montanists and Tertullian. She kept the weak souls within her walls. The possibility of frequent remission of sins through the sacrament of penance, a possibility long discussed, but commonly admitted in principle, assured them a place.

But when the case is that of the ministers of the sacraments? Ought they not to be especially holy and faithful to ensure the efficacy of the sacraments? No, answered the supreme magistracy of the Church in the third century, against the opinion of eminent bishops like Cyprian of Carthage. He who receives a sacrament is only bound to a minimum of preparation; likewise, it suffices for a minister to have the right intention and the power conferred on him by the legitimate authority. This doctrine of the efficacy of the sacraments ex opere operato leaves the doors of the Church open to many souls without great religious fervour.

Rigorist movements rose at every age. When in the fourth century the Church obtained her freedom in the Roman Empire and became the State religion under the emperor Theodosius, there came into the Church with the masses of the people a flood of worldliness and sinfulness. Salvian wrote in the fifth century: "Is the Christian community anything but a hot-bed of vice?" Earlier the Donatists had appealed to the Church to rid herself of the sinful masses. This cry was repeated during the ensuing centuries and throughout the Middle Ages. But, since the time of Augustine, the Church has always considered that the good grain and the cockle must grow together in the field until the harvest at the end of the world. And the impossible may happen: the change of the cockle into wheat. For there is a mystic stock of graces and merits; the riches of the saints overflow, as does

the supernatural life in Jesus Christ Himself, and at the Church's prayer inundates the mass of poor souls with divine love, incapable as they are of Christian heroism. The *communio sanctorum* retains the sinners and the weak in the Christian community.

Implicit faith, frequent confession for which attrition is sufficient, the efficacy ex opere operato of the sacraments, and the communion of saints, such are some of the chief dogmas which make the Church the "Church of the people." Her dogma gives her also an understanding of the masses, which is the condition sine qua non of effecting a transformation by education; for the masses cannot be educated by those who do not understand them.

However, certain dangers lie in these riches of the Church. If implicit faith suffices, will not superstition curiously mingled with Christian verities gain ground with the illiterate while the more gifted, who are capable of better understanding, will content themselves through laziness of mind with rudimentary notions of the Christian life? Will not the ability to receive the sacrament of penance frequently bring with it the temptation to avoid the duty of moral betterment while recovering the "state of grace?" Will not the belief in the efficacy ex opere operato of the sacraments lead to a substitution of a simple ritualism which will suffice for sacramentals and the other religious exercises? Does not the doctrine of the participation in the graces and the merits of the saints lead to their being invoked rather than imitated?

These dangers have always been a menace to the Church. In the Middle Ages she did not avoid them. The causes were the mass conversions of nations and races, and the growing importance of the sacraments, sacramentals and the cultus of the saints in Christian piety. If the Lutheran reform was occasioned by a certain religious decadence, it was also the result of the spectacle of Christianity en masse, formalist, regardless of its responsibilities. But Luther went to the lengths of destroying the dogmatic bases of the "People's Church." If those only are the faithful who place the assurance of their justification in the death of Christ. if confession does not constitute a morally safer means for the frequent remission of sins, if the sacraments of baptism and the Last Supper, still retained by Luther, do not work except in proportion to the actual devotion and the moral and religious dispositions of both minister and recipient; if finally, the dogma of the communion of saints is rejected and each man left alone with God, then the Church can be nothing but the church of an élite, and

has no place in her for the host of weak and timid souls. The danger of gregarious mentality is thus avoided, but the masses are religiously and morally abandoned. Protestant theologians like Harnack and Troeltsch have clearly seen these consequences of Luther's doctrine.

The Counter-Reformation, under the direction of the Jesuits, rose up against this lutheran mutilation of the Church. It emphasised the teaching and the institutions for winning and keeping the weak and the irresolute in the Christian faith. Pastoral theology taught that knowledge of the principal dogmas accompanied by an implicit adherence to all that the Church teaches is sufficient. Frequent confession was urged as an excellent means for many to liberate themselves from their sins without much moral effort. Now frequent communion is advised even to the mediocre Christian, enlightened as to the intrinsic virtue of the sacraments and the minimum of spiritual preparation which assures their validity and efficacy. With great zeal, pastors now invite us to make use of prayers and indulgences to draw grace and pardon from the treasury of the saints. Christianity is fostered anew by the pastoral work among the people and the missionary apostolate. What Novalis said of the Jesuits in his article "Christianity or Europe" serves for confessors and missionaries of all time: "What had been lost in Europe they sought to reconquer in a thousand ways in other quarters of the globe... they gave place to no one in popular appeal. "

TIT

This praise of the popularity and the educative success of Catholics after the Reformation was many times echoed by non-Catholic voices, albeit with certain reserves. Jules Payot ³ wrote in 1893: "The Catholic Church, well grounded in practical psychology, owing to confession and the direction of consciences, clears a broad path for the troop of marionettes, sustains the vacillating and gives definite guidance to the crowd which otherwise would have sunk to the level of brute beasts and would have stayed there." Is this praise or blame? Goethe also recognised this educative influence of the Church on the masses; however, according to Eckermann's report (II March 1832), he thought it necessary to give her a grave rebuke: "The Church has betrayed the

³ Jules Payot, Éducation de la volonté, German translation by T. Voelkel, 3rd edition, 1910, p. 136.

liberty of the Christian conscience. Filled with a false pity for the masses incapables of following the example of Christ, she has changed the noble evangelical commandments by making their accomplishment easy. Hegemony over the masses is for her preferable to the purity of the gospel." It is thus that many non-Catholics judge the influence of the Church, particularly since the celebrated legend of the grand inquisitor, powerfully related by Dostoïewski in The Brothers Karamasoff. Jesus Christ has called us to follow Him along the narrow way. But few are capable of it, and many do not want it: They should despair did not shrewd churchmen like the Grand Inquisitor bring the Gospel to their level. Hear how the grand inquisitor addresses Jesus Christ returned to earth in the sixteenth century: "You were mistaken about men. You esteemed them too highly. What becomes of those millions who refuse to follow You along the narrow way? In favour of them we have improved upon your work and they are glad that we lead them

by an easy path. "

To reject this fashionable opinion we have only to open the Gospel. Is there no place for the crowd of weak and timid? Certainly few men understand and live up to the sublime appeals of the sermon on the mount. The apostles themselves were incapable of it; still more so the crowds who pressed around Jesus. Yet, He did not repulse them; on the contrary, He said "I have compassion on the multitudes " (Matt. XV, 32) for they are " as sheep without a shepherd" (Matt. IX, 36). "I am come to seek and to save that which was lost " (Luke XIX, 10). "They that are in health need not a physician but they that are ill " (Matt. IX, 12; Mark II, 17). He would not "break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax " (Is. XLIII, 3; Matt. XII, 20). According to His will and His own words, His Church was to be like a field in which wheat and cockle grew side by side, a net in which were both good and bad fish. He called the ignorant and capricious crowd to the kingdom of God; He shed His redeeming Blood even for those "who know not what they do" (Luke XXIII, 34). He was not mistaken about men as the atheist Ivan Karamasoff asserted through the grand inquisitor. No, His Church did not become the Church of the people through the astuteness of certain churchmen; He Himself so willed it. Already in his epistles to the Romans and Corinthians Saint Paul required care to be taken of the "weaker brethren' in the first Christian communities. The dogmatic bases of the "democratic behaviour" of the Church, described above, are in no need of posthumous justification; on the contrary, they are in accord with the attitude of the first Christians towards the weak and the fainthearted.

There are dangers in the ministry to the masses which Jesus entrusted to His Church. There are certain souls called by God to the imitation of Christ, to an understanding of the truths of faith, to mystical contemplation and the methods of popular evangelisation must not hinder this call. To them Jesus said: "He that can take, let him take it. " (Matt. XIX, 12). Besides, the mass of the faithful must not feel themselves confirmed in their attitude of irresolution and subjection by the teaching of their shepherds. Expediency is not the ideal! The dogmatic bases of popular pastoral teaching, indicated above, contain the minimum conditions for the first contact with the life of sanctity of the Church, but not the fulness. Jesus Christ said: "I am come that you may have life and may have it more abundantly " (John X, 10). Now is the moment to ask ourselves if in reaction against the Lutheran doctrine of the invisible Church in which there are very few true Christians, Catholic methods have not worked too extensively and not deeply enough.

The dangers besetting the lofty aims of Christianity and the sense of personal responsibility touch parochial work very nearly, especially in these days of gregarious psychosis, overcrowding of towns and the mechanisation and bureaucracy which invades all spheres of life, including Church activities. The Church today regards itself as a harmonious whole. The members of it are in a sense "church-conscious." Faced with new problems, they await new directives which supply for their own lack of initiative. The Rev. K. Rahner, S.J. wrote some years ago about this collective docility of Catholics avoiding responsibility. They gladly take part in the solemnities of the faith and in religious ceremonies, the value of which must not be under-estimated, for in them the words of Schiller in Marie Stuart are sometimes realised: "Where thousands are adoring and giving glory, ardour is fired and the spirit mounts to the heavens." It is the "hydra-headed mass made beautiful under the power of the marvellous" (Stefan George). But there is no method to guarantee this effect on the masses. Lacordaire warns us 5: "The crowd is never great in itself, but only through an emanation from above; if it turns away from

⁴ K. RAHNER, S. J., Der Einzelne in der Kirche, in Stimmen der Zeit, 72 (1946 /7).

⁶ Henri Lacordaire, Lettres sur la vie religieuse, German edition, Mainz, 1922,

heaven, it can see nothing but the earth under its feet." The natural inclination of the masses draws them to a level of thoughts, judgments and actions, void of any personal effort; at this level organisation is possible, but not education. They are no longer a

Christian people, but a nest of ants.

Faithful to her destiny, the Church of Christ will not become the Church of an élite. But she must contain élite of Christians: men of prayer, of penance, theologians, prophets, pastors. These will never withdraw pharisaically from the massa damnata, nor be content like Dostoïewski's inquisitor to direct from the outside the common herd of Christians and satisfy them with the easy comfort of a conscience free of responsibility. These Christian élites will, on the contrary, devote themselves to a labour of education; inspired by the spirit of Christ, they will never relax their efforts to save individuals from the herd instinct, to form Christians of character. Conscious of their own responsibility, they must deliberately accept a share in that of others. Thus, in proportion to their insight and their moral and religious maturity, they will become guides to their brethren.

Nature and Function of a District in a City

Some results of a sociological enquiry as to the social and religious position in Amsterdam

by Fr. Linus Grond, O. F. M.
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When one studies religious sociology for the solving of a pastoral problem—in other words—as soon one passes from theory to applied science, it often happens that investigations are determined by immediate practical needs. Although this may at first sight appear undesirable—given that one does not then go on with systematic research—experience has demonstrated that in most cases all limited problems, for instance of a parish, an association, a school, constitute in fact the *symptom* of a much more general and essential matter. Consequently, the enquiries which seem to be insignificant, with which one begins, nearly always encroach on the adjacent reality of the structure of an entire village, town, or diocese and finally the whole country.

Some months ago, the Dean of Amsterdam, Mgr G. v. d. Burg, formed a committee presided over by professor Zeegers for the purpose of studying in all its complexity the general structure of the town district. This committee, caused by the very practical difficulties resulting from the creation of some "district centres"

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in Amsterdam, had as its immediate task to give the Dean advice as to the line of conduct to be followed by Catholics with regard to this general formation, and information as to the amount and method of cooperation which Catholics should give to these centres.

It is of course obvious that a fundamental question had to be considered: that of the essence and aim of a city quarter, that is to say, sociologically speaking, based on a certain community and not on the administrative area. This fundamental matter is of great importance amongst others because, for Catholics, the sociology of the community in a quarter has direct connection with that of a parish considering the community from the religious standpoint. We must not forget, too, that in the Netherlands, the districts of a city are inhabited by a population of mixed creeds, and that, especially at Amsterdam, Catholics form a minority, communists being in the majority.

The parish is now the focus of interest of religious sociology. The parish and parochial ministry, under their present form, do they not correspond rather to a social structure which our large towns no longer know? Does the urban parish constitute in our days the "natural" community capable of ensuring the Christianisation of the surroundings amongst which Catholics have to live?

These problems should incite religious sociology and sociography to interest themselves actively in a new objective: the separation of the large towns into quarters where spontaneous communities can be formed, animated by a great cordiality. In these natural communities the religious life of the great centres could be more easily revived.

But this would require of parochial sociography a sociographical study of the quarters. The conclusions would suggest a new division of parishes, each corresponding to a natural community susceptible of becoming a religious one.

The investigations of the committee of studies above mentioned, made up almost entirely of the Catholic Institute for Social-Ecclesiastical Researches, are in two parts, one, philosophical and juridical for the sociological norms; the other, concerned with positive sociology or, better, sociography.

Thanks to these latter investigations, it will be possible to discover the structure of Amsterdam and we shall be able to find out how far it is composed of distinct quarters, districts, and neighbourhoods. As these all have a different character, our enquiries will give us indications which will enable us to compare the theoretically most desirable "district centre" with its actual form.

We will now give some details as to these last enquiries.

The general structure of a quarter goes according to certain local data. One of the first indications of these is found in the reply to the questions: generally speaking, do people like or dislike living in certain districts? Do they remain long? If they leave soon, does this occur in the same street? In the same district or without obvious preference? We have tried to answer all these questions by carrying out all over Amsterdam "enquiries concerning migration." While doing this, we observe and describe, as minutely as possible, all the migratory movements in the town itself. These enquiries chiefly undertaken by my colleague, M. Jos. Niessen, are naturally very extensive and require an enormous amount of material organisation.

This latter is accessible to us because the deanery of Amsterdam has an office for detailed registration of Catholics manned by experts, which since 1930 has functioned for all Catholic or semi-Catholic families (that is to say, those of mixed marriages), as well as for isolated Catholics, whose addresses are given on their cards, with their movements and dates. These cards are kept

according to parish in a file.

Our enquiries as regards migration therefore cover the period 1930 to 1950 inclusively, that is, twenty-one years. They are obviously only concerned with the Catholic population; however, we are of the opinion that their migration does not greatly differ

from that of the non-Catholics.

At present we have assembled 4.283 cards belonging to a very typical district of Amsterdam, that is, "Jordaan." This is one of the oldest popular quarters of the town. It is to the west of the centre, between the famous circle of canals and the outer boulevard of 1665. From time immemorial, the "Jordaan" has been reputed for having a character of its own and a sense of solidarity among its inhabitants.

On consulting the cards of the families now living there, we

have collected the following information:

1. The total number of years spent in Amsterdam by a family or an individual: called time or years of habitation (from 1930).

2. The number of years during which a family or individual has been living in "Jordaan." We call this years of inhabitation of "Jordaan."

² The name «Jordaan» probably comes from «Jardin». The French refugees who settled in this quarter towards the end of the seventeenth century, called it «Jardin» because a number of the streets and canals to be found there bore the names of trees and flowers.

- 3. The number of years during which a family or individual have inhabited one particular district in "Jordaan." Our enquiries informed us that "Jordaan" taken as a whole has a sub-structure composed of districts or neighbourhoods sometimes one street only. Here we speak of years of inhabitation of a district.
- 4. The number of years during which a family or individual has lived at their present address.
- 5. The former dwellingplaces of the present inhabitants of Jordaan in chronological order, but taking their position outside or within Jordaan, these last being subdivided according to districts as above.

Based on the above-mentioned data, we are able to come to the following conclusions with regard to Jordaan:

I. ATTACHMENT TO ONE'S OWN NEIGHBOURHOOD

This attachment is obviously very important: it allows us to a certain extent to estimate the reciprocal influence between the inhabitants and their milieu.

What interests us in the *first place* are the inhabitants who have never moved from the same address. But as it is important to know if someone has been living there for one or twenty years, these facts have not been listed according to the number of *inhabitants* who have not moved house, but according to that of the *years* that they have lived in one place. A graph represents in a striking way for each of the Jordaan districts the percentage of the total number of years for those who have not moved since 1930 in relation to the total number of years of *all* the inhabitants.

Next, we have made observations on the behaviour of those who have moved.

First we have found out how long they have spent

- at their present address.
- in their present dictrict,
- in other districts of Jordaan,
- outside Jordaan.

These facts are represented by a graph.

The frequency of moving house can also give us interesting data concerning the attachment of the inhabitants for a district. Frequent removals in the same district show a preference for a locality rather than for a house (moving is often a bad sign in

this respect). The fact of settling away from a neighbourhood and then moving back to it often testifies to the attraction exercised by it. A graph has been made to show the number of houses since 1930 before settling at their present address of the inhabitants of each district: a) in the old quarter, b) in other districts of Jordaan, c) outside Jordaan, by a percentage of the total number of the former homes.

The considerations mentioned above lead to the following conclusions:

Jordaan seems to be composed of three parts, each with its own nucleus, where the preference for the quarter is strongest:

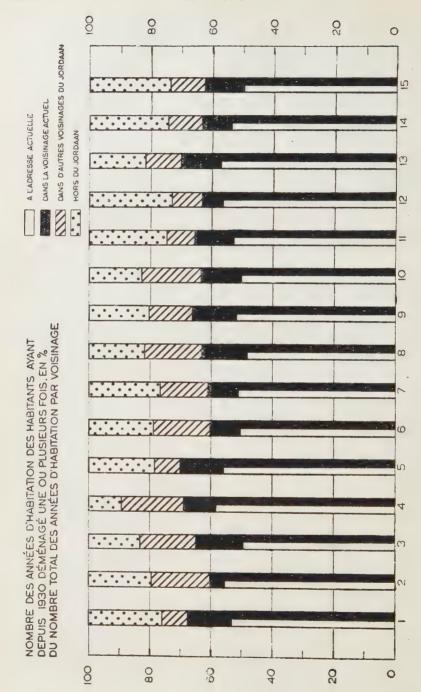
- the northern sector, with its centre at Lindengracht
- the central sector, with its Tuinstraat
- the southern sector, with its Lauriergracht.

The *northern* sector. The graphs show that in general the preference for Jordaan is strongest in this sector. The stability of those who have never moved, the percentage of the total time spent in the quarter, as well as the percentage of households in Jordaan prove this.

Another indication of the particular characteristics of the northern part is found in the graphs of the sections which represent the former dwelling-places of the inhabitants of the different sectors. A good number of the inhabitants of the north continue in this district; they do not care to move into Westerstraat, which is the southern boundary of this locality.

Looking at the graph of Westerstraat one can easily see the above to be the case, for this place recruits its inhabitants mostly from the south rather than the north of Jordaan. The graph of Anjelierstraat also demonstrates this. To understand these graphs, one must take into account another principle, namely that the immediate neighbourhood of the dwelling always has most effect. The fairly high percentages of the homes in Westerstraat and the districts called Anjelierbuurt and Lindenbuurt (the northern part of Jordaan) indicate this. At first sight these percentages might tell against our thesis of a separation between the northern and central parts of Jordaan; but when one takes count of the other principle, the division between north and central parts remains quite reasonable.

Lindengracht is indisputably the centre of this northern sector of Jordaan and from almost all points of view occupies an exceptional position. The length of habitation at the same address as well as the preference for this district are on a high level. The percentage of households here compared with the whole of Jordaan is at the highest. Taking the length of time (an average of 15.2 years) of dwelling, we can state that the population here is the oldest and for that reason has the best right to be considered to have preserved the odd character of Jordaan. We conclude by mentioning that Lindengracht has a weekly market, and that obviously strengthens its central position in the quarter.



See explanation on following page (foot-note). 7

Probably, the special attraction exercised by this northern sector can be explained that it is rather isolated from the point of view of getting about. It can only be reached by means of narrow streets, canals and high bridges.

The *central* part of Jordaan is bounded on the north by Westerstraat (formerly called Anjeliersgracht). To the south, its borders are not so easily seen. The central district is a transition from north to south. When speaking of the southern sector, we shall define this boundary. In the central part there is also an obvious centre, Tuinstraat, for which much attachment is shown.

The southern part has to a large extent lost the particular characteristics of the quarter. The Rozengracht is the principal arterial road between the western part of Amsterdam and the city proper. The Bloemgracht and Elandsgracht are also and to a considerable extent main roads. These two provide an easy means of access to the west, and from the west to the centre of the city. The links with Jordaan are the weaker, and communications with other parts of the city are more frequent. The border between the south and central districts of Jordaan becomes less defined, especially at the level of Bloemgracht. In this connection we would again draw attention to the fact that this southern sector of Jordaan presents a different aspect from the other sectors. Thus the percentage of Catholics is considerably higher (26.1 % against 19.8 %), while on the contrary, the percentage of workers is lower (62.9 % against 72.5 % in the northern part).

II. RELATIONS BETWEEN JORDAAN AND THE CITY

The principle mentioned above, that is to say that in the case of moving house preference is shown for remaining in the quarter as much as possible is demonstrated.

It must also be remarked that Jordaan, as a working class quarter,

Note relating to the diagram on the preceding page. — Number of years of residence of the inhabitants who have moved once or several times since 1930. In percentage with the total number of years of residence in each neighbourhood.

Each column shows the results of an enquiry made in one street. It is seen that the stability varies from one street to the next. It attains its highest point in column 4: there the number of years of residence at the present address is the highest (the white section of the column); the inhabitants who have moved, have stayed in the vicinity (black section) or in another neighbourhood in 'Jordaan' (striped section); very few have left 'Jordaan' (dotted section); this street is the 'centre' of one section of 'Jordaan.' The two other sections of 'Jordaan' have also their centre.

The names of the "neighbourhoods" represented by the fifteen columns are:

¹⁾ Northern part: 1. Palmbuurt, 2. Willemsstraat, 3. Goudsbloembuurt, 4. Lindengracht, 5. Lindenbuurt.

²⁾ Central part: 6. Westerstraat, 7. Anjeliersbuurt, 8. Tuinbuurt, 9. Egelantiersbuurt, 10. Leliebuurt.

³⁾ Southern part: 11. Bloembuurt, 12. Rozenbuurt, 13. Laurierbuurt, 14. Elandsbuurt, 15. Looiersbuurt.

has its chief connections with other similar districts. It follows that the Staatsliedenbuurt, the environs of Haarlemmerdijk and, to a less extent, Spaarndammerbuurt, all workingclass districts, are much sought after. The quarters are sometimes called "exits from Jordaan." The roads leading to the district west of the town naturally facilitate its connection with Jordaan.

It is a wellknown fact that owing to some housing clearance in Jordaan many people have left for the west side of Amsterdam. But we ought to insist on the fact that we have as yet no data about this migration, since up to now we have only made a study of the actual inhabitants of Jordaan, in other words, because we have been observing immigration but not emigration. The emigration of the inhabitants could only be observed after the analysis of the data concerning the Catholics of the different sectors under discussion.

We must again draw attention to the fact already stated that many of the former inhabitants of Jordaan have returned to their old quarters after a short stay outside.

III. FREQUENCY OF REMOVALS TO JORDAAN

Another symptom which is important in deciding upon the character of a quarter is the frequency of removals, the rhythm according to which the population of a locality move their abode. It is obvious that this goes along with various other facts. In the first place, the less one possesses, the easier it is to move.

In the second place, there is a certain connection between removal and the *social characteristics* of the population. It is sufficient to mention the fact that persons belonging to those families known as a-social who take no care of their house, habitually lodge in boardinghouses, either make their dwelling place uninhabitable or pay their rent seldom, if ever, are extremely mobile.

Finally, we may also draw attention to the connection between the frequency of removals and the *size of the family*. Young families, increasing rapidly, are, sooner than numerous or grown-up families, forced to look for other lodgings, that is, a larger house.

We have not the time to make a more detailed analysis of the above-mentioned facts. We have had to confine ourselves to the frequency of removals on the part of the inhabitants of the different sectors of Jordaan. The rhythm of this migration shows the particular character of each of the sectors. The graph which gives an idea of it, allows us to distinguish between the three parts of Jordaan, that is to say, the north, central and south sections.

Sociological Research with a View to Contributing to the Amendment of Non-Social Persons at Tilburg

by W. R. HEERE

Professor of Sociology and of Human Geography at the University of Tilburg and at the University of Nimeguen¹

I. DEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION OF TILBURG; THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING

The Low Countries have an area of 33.000 square kms, that of Belgium, Switzerland and Denmark. The country had about 2.600.000 inhabitants in 1830; 5.100.000 in 1900; at the present day, 10. 200.000. This great increase comes from birthrate exceeding mortality rate. ²

The eleven provinces have had their population increased, but it is in the large towns of the western provinces that it has been greatest, for people from the east and south have migrated there. These western provinces (Northern Holland, Southern Holland and the province of Utrecht) are together of an area of 7.100 square kms, 21,3 % of the whole area; their total population was at the 31st December 1948: 4.742.000 inhabitants, 48 % of the Dutch population.

² The birthrate fluctuated between 37% and 32% in the nineteenth century, falling to a minimum of 20,3% in 1936. The deathrate fluctuated between 28,5% and 17,2% in the nineteenth century falling to 7,4% in 1948.

¹ Born in 1892, Professor W. R. Heere studied at the Universities of Utrecht and Amsterdam. In 1926, he defended his thesis for Doctor's degree on Frederic Le Play and his pupils. He was successively appointed lecturer at the University of Utrecht (1937), professor of Sociology and Human Geography at the University of Tilburg (1946), professor of the same subjects at the University of Nimeguen. — Professor Heere has published numerous scientific books and articles and others popularising on the following subjects: Japan and the Pacific, Geography of Europe, Universal History. — Address: Burgmeester van Meursstraat, Tilburg, Holland (Editor's note)

Unfortunately this migration to the large towns has uprooted the rurals, who have been swamped in the masses. The inhabitants of the south (Northern Brabant and Limburg) are Catholic; they come to a non-Catholic region where they often lose all contact with the Church.

The religious statistics of the Low Countries were as follows in 1947: Catholics, 38,5 %; Protestants of the Dutch Reformed

Church, 9,7 %; without any religion, 17,1 %.

The southern provinces, Northern Brabant and Limburg had respectively 1.220.000 inhabitants of whom 89.4 % were Catholic and 708.000 of whom 94.5 % were Catholic. The town of Tilburg lies in the centre of Northern Brabant.

As a result of the merging of a dozen large villages, Tilburg in 1860 had a population of 10.000, 40.000 in 1899, and 120.000 in 1950. 95 % are Catholic, which explains the very high birthrate in this town and in the rest of Northern Brabant. ³

Tilburg is essentially an industrial town. There are more than 200 factories dealing with textiles, electrical and leather works and furniture manufacture, which employ more than 10 hands and only 16 employing more than 200. In the small enterprises the daily contact of masters and men is one of cordiality and charity.

The working class quarters have a rural aspect: small, one-storied houses with little gardens, built for one family each. Each quarter has its church, cemetery (there are a dozen), associations and community life. Customs are somewhat patriarchal and parochial life very strong.

The total number of these dwellings, cheap, healthy, and usually inhabited by their owners, is 26,000: 64 % of them comprise five or six rooms and 40 % contain households of five at least. The chimneys of the factories and the church towers overshadow the land on which the numerous children play.

The Church authorities have desired to keep to 5,000 to 6,000 people to each parish, and have therefore created 22 parishes, each with schools for boys and girls, mainly run by religious of both

sexes.

The following are some figures from the parochial statistics for 1950:

Catholic families: 25,289
Individual members of these 115,204
Communicants 82,310

³ Birthrate in Tilburg: 1940, 25.3%, 1947, 30.6%, 1950, 25.8%, Deathrate in Tilburg: 1910, 14.6%, 1940, 8.1%, 1947, 6.9%, 1950, 6.2%

Communions	3,229,000
Mixed marriages	495
Baptisms	3,075
Marriages	865
Deaths (of Catholics)	685, including 82 children

As technical adviser on town planning, the author prophesies that in 1975 Tilburg will have a population of 170,000 that is, an increase of 50,000 in the space of 25 years. That would mean the creation every three years of a new parish, new schools, new presbytery, etc.

The director of public works put the following question on reading this report: "Must special quarters be built for non-social persons?"

II. SOCIOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

A commission was formed to study the problem of dwellings for the non-social. They first requested the cooperation of the municipal social assistance service. The meaning of the word "non-social" had to be defined. The author has provisionally adopted the following: "non-social families are those which either cannot or do not know how to conform to the rules of an ordinary decent Christian society." This definition applies quite well to the conditions in a Catholic town like Tilburg.

In order to be more definite, the commission distinguished between ill-adjusted families, non-social ones and antisocial ones.

At a meeting at which ecclesiastics were present the typical cases forming these three groups were decided upon. The clergy were asked to assist in the enquiries and to point out persons who could take part from among those who had been long in the parish and who were competent in social affairs: doctors, teachers, members of St. Vincent de Paul Societies, young people occupied in social work.

The trial enquiry, carried out in several parishes, with the help of a good questionnaire gave satisfaction: the weak points were checked up later.

The sociological students of the Catholic University were called upon to interview the people dealing with social problems in the parishes under the municipal authorities. These people gave information concerning the cases known to them.

A list of 17 questions, subdivided on several points, permitted the classification of the information: the husband, wife, children,

laziness, drink, sexual misconduct, rearing of children, household expenses, attendance at school, sickness, mental backwardness, etc. Some dealt with religious practice.

The following are the results of these enquiries, taking into account a percentage of error concerning about 4 % of the families. The number of families was 881.

Classed as ill-adjusted, 685, nearly 78 % Classed as non-social, 169, nearly 20 % Classed as antisocial, 27, nearly 3 %

Geographically, 331 families were in the 6 chief centres, 77 in a more confined area, 40 % spread over the whole town. 17 streets

were marked down as containing a large number.

The parents were natives of Tilburg (44 %), or from within a radius of 25 kms (the majority). In a time of crisis the agricultural milieux of the environs have not been touched, but the unskilled labour of the industrial towns and villages near prefer to go to Tilburg, where they pass unnoticed and can count on the help of public assistance authorities, the Church and private persons.

These 881 families have 4.329 children, an average of 4.9 per family; in one household there is an average of 6.9 persons, includ-

ing the parents.

The deathrate among the children under a year old is 55.6 per 1.000 (for the whole of the population, it is 28 per 1.000). Note that each family has a right to free medical attention.

Information concerning men. — Out of 762 men, 240 are out of work. The dossier of 50 % of them is endorsed "through laziness and dislike of work." Most of them being unskilled workers were the first to be affected by the crisis.

625 are faithful to their wives; 93 have relations with other women; 68 live in concubinage. (These facts seem to be too lenient, but it is hard to find out the truth of these things.)

Out of 829 men, 464 are not given to drink; 184 get drunk occasionally, 145 frequently, 36 habitually.

Information concerning women. — Amongst the women, there were 24 of disrepute. Again, it is difficult to get the truth. Out of 745, 261 looked after their children properly; 318 were careless, and 166 neglected them.

In 55% of the cases the homes were well kept; in 40% the housekeeping money was badly expended. Out of 100 women, 25 smoked or ate too many sweets, 20% went begging, 25% had relations with other men than their husbands.

Out of 881, 82 were often ill, 165 were in arrears, 289 extremely indolent. Information concerning the children. -50% of the homes have children who often played truant, 30 % of the children run wild in the streets and

get into mischief. In 123 families the children had been in trouble with the police already. Although only 1/25th of the families of Tilburg were interrogated, they provided 1/4 of the children under police supervision.

In 114 families, the children are guilty of sexual misbehaviour, the most difficult to discover.

III. SUGGESTED MEASURES FOR THE AMENDMENT OF NON-SOCIAL PERSONS

Possessed of the foregoing facts and information, the commission set itself to ascertain what could be done for these families and who could be approached for this social work.

This task seems to us to call chiefly for *private initiative*. The State and municipality ought not to intervene, but financially. There is an excellent opening here for charitable work on the part of the Christian; moral help is needed for these misguided households so as to put them on the right road and make them capable of rearing their children properly and of earning their living honestly.

Absence of the father, unemployment, sickness of the mother, may be the obstacle to this improvement. In these cases it will be necessary to get the father back, or find him work or give the mother the means to look after herself and take some rest. These people, well disposed at heart, could be placed in localities where good example would be a great help to them. The priest and social helpers ought to take special care about this.

Serious cases of idleness, of moral delinquency, ought to be isolated from good and honest localities; they are better placed in an already contaminated quarter, those families which have pronounced moral defects. Here are some measures which would greatly help in their reform; frequent visits from priests and social workers, regular attendance at school by the children, the building of halls for recreation, education of the mother in cooking and cleaning, housekeeping, etc. Money should only rarely be given, but these families should be taught to work, and inculcated with moral ideas and religious principles. If they behave better, they can be moved elsewhere where benevolent parishioners and social workers will help them and encourage them while keeping them under supervision.

Finally, there remains a third category; that of families of more unsocial habits. In these cases, the supervision of the police is often necessary. They must not be given money without great

care, but provided with work, appeal made to their good feelings (affection for children, etc.). Favourable results are not impossible in these cases, above all if they can be brought back to the Church.

The moral, material and religious harm done to the community by nearly 1.000 misfit families is a motive for working at their reform.

Several centres have already been established in Tilburg where during the day paid persons look after these families, giving them advice, instructing them in housekeeping. Certain others come to look after the children for some hours. It is hoped to increase the number of these centres.

Our plans are aimed at the creation of such centres all over the town, supported by both public and private funds. They should have chaplains, helpers and welfare workers, and teachers. Young men and girls will also be asked to help. All parishioners will be invited to facilitate this work of material and moral rehabilitation.

Statistics Concerning Sacerdotal Vocations in Holland

by J. Dellepoort

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Three general facts of a somewhat complicated nature characterize the recruitment of clergy in the Low Countries. First, certain historical causes have brought about a curious distribution of the seminaries. Secondly, the number of secular priests is not growing in proportion to the population. Finally, the diocesan seminaries, as well as those of the Religious orders, are confronted with problems of recruitment and perseverance.

Some concrete facts will give us an adequate general view of

the situation:

I. The population of the seminaries and the number of ordinations is as follows: The annual contingent of fresh entries in the preparatory schools has remained stationary during the last twenty years. There was a satisfactory increase after the war, but it came to an end in September 1950. Notwithstanding the maintainance of the total number of seminarists, the coefficient varies according to the groups; the missionary congregations are benefitting by an increase of 10 to 20 %; the "mixed" congregations come next; the "ancient orders," after slight progress, are receding; as for the secular clergy, there is serious diminution.

The total number of ordinations which had been on the increase until 1940, has now dropped 20 %, to the 1930 level. The religious orders have maintained the number of their ordinations, but the secular clergy have fewer each year; within 30 years, the number

of new secular priests dropped from 120 to 70.

2. Certain regions and certain groups are particularly affected. The diminution is more marked in the south than in the north, perhaps for the following reasons: in the northern dioceses, Cath-

olics are in the minority; they are more individualistic; colleges, directed by religious congregations, are more numerous in the south.

A striking fact: vocations to the Trappists have greatly diminished. In the seven abbeys taken together, the number of students has dropped from 120 to 60, within the last twenty years.

3. The supply of candidates coming from the various social levels is very unequal.

The large towns provide ever fewer vocations, while the number

from rural parts is on the increase.

The bulk of sacerdotal vocations in Holland comprises few vocations emanating from the upper classes, a third of the vocations come from the peasant classes and the majority come from the middle classes. As for vocations from the working class, the number is steadily increasing, even in the diocesan seminaries. The seminary of the diocese of Haarlem, where there are many large towns, heads the list in this matter.

The families whence the seminarists come, have an average of 7 children; but 20 % have ten children or more.

4. Finally, it will not be unprofitable to signalize a disturbing fact, to wit: the number of young men who reach the priesthood is relatively small in proportion to the number of entries in the seminaries. The exact numbers supplied by the diocese of Haarlem and the percentages given by two dioceses and two religious congregations are particularly significant.

Psycho-sociological Enquiry On Youth in Holland

Précis of the communication from

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Rector of the Berchmannianum, Professor of Psychology at the Catholic University of Nimeguen

The relationship between psychology and sociology is the subject of discussion. A recent undertaking by the Dutch government evoked a practical collaboration of sociologists with psychologists. This particular case enables us to grasp better the respective role of the two sciences.

The State decided to subsidize those undertakings which are concerned with the adolescents of the "masses." An understanding of youth is important. Enquiries were set on foot.

Whilst some relied solely on sociological methods, the Catholics

combined sociological research and psychological analysis.

Sociology led them to confine their survey to a representative sector. There is a proletariat at Maastricht. They began therefore with the history of that town and particularly that of its industrial development.

Then the psychologists came in. More than 600 young people were studied in the course of lengthy and friendly conversations.

The information here received was checked by facts concerning

the family and sociological facts.

Thanks to this psycho-sociological enquiry, it has been possible to understand *persons*, to obtain, so to speak, a live portrait and get at the mentality of the youth of the masses with regard to religion.

From the practical point of view, these enquiries have made clear what environmental changes must be made, and how the

individual is to be adapted to his surroundings.

The aim of the research worker must always be to understand the *person* who is under the influence of the milieu, but who is able to *resist* it.

Anti-religious Warfare As a Factor of Forced Social Change

by Bélà Kovrig

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By the Teheran and Yalta agreements, the Soviet Union was bound to the common policy of the allies that, in the countries liberated from the national socialist rule of Germany, the liberated peoples should be permitted as soon as possible to elect their representatives through secret and general ballot. The occupying power was to abstain from any interference in the work of the government responsible to and approved by the people's chosen representatives in parliament. It was assumed that this provision of the inter-allied agreement would work as an efficient safeguard of democracy against a conceivable bolshevization of countries "liberated" by the victorious Red Army. As long as the Soviet Union deemed it necessary to appear in good faith before its Western allies, the application of a social revolutionary strategy with the ultimate aim of Communism had to be consistent with the general interest of the class warfare or global plan, i. e. with the foreign policy of

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the Soviet Union. The inter-relationship between foreign policy and revolutionary social tactics applicable in liberated-subjugated countries might have been felt by Communists to be a harmful interference with the proletarian revolutionary movement, had they not been taught by Marx that a bourgeois revolution precedes the great socialist revolution of the proletariat. This factor of Soviet foreign policy, acting as a temporary brake on social revolution, granted to Hungary a seemingly "bourgeois democracy" burdened by an Asiatic type of military occupation. It permitted a short respite (1945-46) of doubtful value between two — a Western and an Eastern — types of totalitarian dictatorship.

The second factor which slackened the pace of the revolution, especially in the cultural fields of religion and education, was nothing less than the authoritative teaching and warnings of Lenin. As a son of a traditionally and deeply religious people, Lenin had to be deeply involved in the religious issue. He had to become either an apostle of Christ or an apostle of anti-Christ. His driving force had to be either a genuine religious messianism or a fake secular messianism. Under the impact of Russian reality, cesaropapism, the life of the autocephal orthodox church, Western philosophy (Feuerbach) and Russian revolutionary tradition, his religion and asceticism turned inside out, his messianism became void of grace. He is quoted ipse dixit in his "church," the Communist Party. And his small paper, "The Workers' Party's Relationship to Religion, "is the highly venerated blueprint regarding the proper proletarian revolutionary attitude towards religion and the strategy of the anti-religious Communist warfare.

"Marxism's philosophic foundation is dialectic materialism," declares Lenin, which is, no doubt, an atheistic materialism with an inimical attitude toward every kind of religion. Marx's saying, "Religion is the opium for the people," is the cornerstone of the entire Marxist Weltanschauung. Marxism sees all contemporary religions and churches as mere organs of bourgeois reaction, for what they serve is the defense of exploitation and stupefaction of the working class. "Marxism is materialism and as such is religion's reckless enemy." "We have to fight religion. This is the ABC of the whole materialism, hence that of Marxism too." "Marxism has to be materialist, i. e. the enemy of religion." (All quotations are taken from Lenin's above-mentioned paper.)

Secular minded thinkers are inclined to overlook this paramount importance of the religious issue and anti-religious fight in the theory and revolutionary practice of Marxism-Leninism. Some people assume that priests are predisposed to overstress the anti-

religious aspect of the "proletarian revolution." But Lenin's above-quoted "teaching," and its application in practice in everyday life within and beyond the Russian orbit, proves that the main issue is the religious issue in the Communist class warfare either on local, national or international planes.²

But why? may we ask. We know the argument: we sensed it a quarter of a century ago, after the first Hungarian experience with communism, when it became evident that the driving force in bolshevism is a religious-like messianism. All the members of a global organization, red hierarchy and pink faithful alike, are animated by the belief that the Communist Party is the exclusive agency of human salvation within this earthly life. The communists have their Savior too, the proletariat; their prophet, Karl Marx; their Gospel, Das Kapital. They have their Calvary, the proletariat's suffering and bloody self-sacrifice in the revolutionary fight; their "patres," Lenin and Stalin; their eschatology, the millennium of classless society. And they have their liturgy, rites and ceremonials, the manipulation of symbols; they have their martyrs. but they have their heresies and heretics as well. They have succeeded in founding an antichurch for the worldly salvation of full-fledged secular people who have been deprived of their supernatural "dimension" (Berdjaev).

Ecce the new Israel of the secular man: the Catholic Church turned inside out and void of Christ. It may be that a few early and present day communists do not hate the Church for her teachings about souls and supernatural beings and developments. Yet all is false, in their opinion, since it is incompatible with the "certainty of truth" of their crude materialism. Yes, this is the hatred of theologians against heretics, the scientist's odium towards the upholders of a false proposition. But the engineers of the "proletarian revolution" were actually neither theologians nor scientists; they were extroverts of the politician type, consumed with an immense — frustrated or realized — will for power. Their hatred of religion is based on neither the philosophy of Helvetius nor of Feuerbach.

Today the Communist Party appears more and more as a secular church, as a counter-church. But when Lenin composed his antireligious writings in his emigration, long before Fammerthal, and even during the civil war in Russia (1917-20), there must have been very few people, if any, in the souls of whom the "churchdom" of the Communist Party was a psychological reality. Long

² Kovrig, Bela, At Vj Orosossaj (1917-26); (The New Russia, Franklin, 1924.)

before the Communist Party developed into a kind of secular counter-church for earthly salvation, the movement of proletarian revolt was imbued with anti-religious sentiment, and the necessity of the anti-religious fight within the overall class struggle was theoretically formulated.

In our opinion, the proletarian revolutionary determination to fight religion was nourished through three channels: 1) historical experience, 2) psychological considerations, and, 3) sociological considerations.

I) France (Paris) and Russia, exhibiting two forms of continental social life, were the theatres for the early fermentation of the proletarian revolution. In Paris, during the decade of restlessness in the forties of the last century, when the historic fusion took place between revolutionary jacobinism, proletarianism and socialism; when Paris was overcrowded with masses of intellectuals, and adventurers were fleeing there from all countries suffocating under the harsh and fast rules of the almighty police state; at such a time, Catholicism was recognized as the strongest conservative force supporting the social order besieged by competing liberal and socialist revolutionary forces. This was the experience of such writers as Proudhon, Bakumin, Marx, Engels, Dezamy, and Owen, all together in Paris, whose books shaped the social concepts of all those who worked for social change. The not entirely unsuccessful effort of the well-to-do bourgeoisie to expropriate the Church as a powerful safeguard of their social security after the bloody obliteration of the socialistic revolution in Paris in July, 1848, and the identification of many representative figures of Catholic life with the cause of restoration of the monarchy during the later decades of the century, all contributed to the confused feeling that the Church is inimical to the cause of progress. As intrepid defender of basic human values, the Church under Pio nostro had to be repugnant at that time to the prevailing individualistic liberalism and egotistic reckless nationalism, knowing beforehand the disastrous repercussions of such inordinate attitudes. The firm stand of the Church against the rationalistic and romantic ideologies and popular sentiments of the nineteenth century made it easy for the already secular minded people of the West to brand the Church as the "traditional enemy of progress."

Simultaneously, in Russia, the autocephal oriental church, deprived of her ecclesiastic autonomy, lived as a prisoner and acted as a ready tool of the temporal power, i. e. the Czarist autocracy. Those who suffered oppression in "Holy Russia" identified the orthodox church, herself enslaved, with the political system, and condemned

the former as sinful for justifying the enslavement of man. The oriental servilism of some archpriests toward the political potentates, the low level of life enjoyed by some, the lack of spirituality and of genuine Christian charity among many Russian orthodox priests, all helped to undermine their spiritual authority and to spread the conviction that their only social function was to ease social tensions through religious practices, to offer in religion a kind of escape to the poverty-stricken, oppressed people who otherwise might give ready following to the intelligentsia and burst out in a social revolution. Thus, in radical opinion, religion works efficiently in preventing a revolution of social redemption.

No doubt the same was true in the West, in France, as in the East, in Russia. The massive experience of the men engaged, for various reasons, in radical social movements for the betterment of the human lot had built up the assumption that religion always sanctions the historically established, traditional pattern of an "irrational" social organization and efficiently works against radical social reforms. They inferred that as long as the church controlled the basic sentiments and the politically relevant feelings of the people, the masses could not be efficiently organized and mobilized for a social revolutionary war. Hence the tenet of the antireligious policy: no lasting progress on the road to socialism without the elimination of the power and influence of the clergy, which would be if people's religiosity decreases at a progressive rate.

2) Every revolutionary movement draws deeply on the strongest negative sentiments of human hearts: envy, jealousy, resentment, hate. Marx realized the social force and significance of pooling the individuals' hate into collective hatred of an organized class and since the outflow of his gloomy spirit, inflamed collective hate has been the "great proletarian revolution's" driving force. Basis of hope, guarantee of success likewise for all those who have impatiently urged and hastened the consummation of the bourgeois world. Pan-hatred was their hope and policy. Over-all charity was that of the Church. The revolution of hate and the revolution of charity had to battle each other. "They" have had to hate the Church as their greatest obstacle for the diffusion of charity hinders most efficiently the spread of hate. As long as the Church keeps her hold on people's psychological processes, the Marxist movement cannot build up such a massive hatred in society, the eruption of which could be mighty enough to decompose what historically developed — the social system. Ceterum censeo ecclesiam esse delendam - demands their psychological reasoning too.

3) The Marxist movements tend to replace the existing social

organization with a Communist one which might follow a merely transitional socialistic period. The existing social order is supported by traditional social controls reflecting the dominant value orientation in society. Hence one must reorient people's value orientation towards another set of values if one wants to undermine the present structure of social rules and consequently the entire social system. To social changes, religious moral rules are most resistant, which are at the bottom of the existing structure of social norms. Revolutionaries have to shatter these norms, authority rooted in religious concepts and sentiments. As long as the majority of the population is religious minded and the Church upholds the authority of some basic norms (the natural law), the social order is resistant to tendencies working for radical, comprehensive and rapid social change. The Marxists' sociological knowledge concerning the inseparable relationship among value scheme, value orientations. social norms, and social organization induces them to undermine the popular esteem of the hierarchic order of values uphold by the Church and replace it with a new scale of values inherent in their doctrine, i. e. the dialectic materialism. The wide acceptance of the latter, if achieved, might reorient the dominant value orientation towards the value scheme of materialism and promote such a system of social norms which would reflect the esteem of the new system of values. In this case the coherence between the accepted materialistic new value-scale and norm-system would gradually produce and support a new pattern of social organization. This is one of the main reasons of the forced penetration of the population with dialectic materialism, as a philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. For the revolutionary politicians, dialectic materialism has an instrumental value: a) its spread through indoctrination means laying the foundations of a new social order; b) it theoretically justifies the Marxists' attitude towards the Church and the conspicuous changes in their policy at various stages of the class war.

As we have seen historical experiences, psychological and sociological considerations lead to the development of one of the most important phases of their class war strategy: Concentrated attack on the corner stone of every "Christian society," i. e. on the Church, the liquidation or subservience of which is regarded as condition of the radical reconstruction of the social order and security and permanence of the new. The successive phases of the proletarian revolutionary" tactics applying the basic strategical directive are: 1) Tactics of diversion, which means the tendency to distract people's attention from the revolutionaries' real objec-

tives and to subdue their "prejudices" against Marxists, esp. Communists. - 2) Material disarmament of the Church, i. e. confiscation of her material wealth and her deprivation of all efficient means of mass communication. - 3) Spreading confusion and promoting the corruption of general morality so that the resulting chaos shall induce people's longing for some new social fixation. -4) Establishment of over-all statism disguised by misleading democratic trimmings (e. g. "coalition government"). -5) Enjoying the fullness of power, the Communist Party as central agency of social life starts, first an indirect, anti-religious fight to apply the ancient precept: divide et impera. - 6) If the tactics of diversion and the "divide and rule" ways and means proved to be unsuccessful, direct methods replace the former indirect ones in the antireligious warfare. - 7) Confining the Church within the churchbuildings, her isolation, segregation from big society. - 8) Dependent on the "class war on international plane," i. e. foreign policy, in "proper time" a schism is attempted; the subservients' churchorganization void of general cultural activity, will be tolerated in her dependency; -9) the apostolic Church gradually liquidated. suppressed in secular sense, living her concealed life where necessary and Christ's life in eternity.

The application of the explained Marxist-Leninist anti-religious warfare strategy and tactics, I was able to observe very closely in Hungary from 1945 until my flight to Rome in the fall of 1948, and, later, through contact with the Catholic Action of Hungarians Abroad (A. C. Hungaribus in Exteris, Rome).

I. The tactics of diversion.

According to Lenin's teaching, were applied in a coherent way in 1945-46.

- 1) The Communists bluntly condemned the violent anticlericalism and priest persecution of Bela Kun's first Hungarian Communist regime in 1919.
- 2) Red Army officers and Communist office holders displayed respect towards the clergy and even participated in processions and ecclesiastic festivities in an ostentatious way.
- 3) Communist leaders, cabinet members, publicly approved and voted big state subsidies for the restoration of churches and monasteries damaged by military activities.
- 4) Communist office holders invited archpriests to participate on the boards and panels of welfare organizations.
- 5) The Communist Party organized "construction brigades" of party members to help with the reconstruction of village churches, without any

compensation for their work, in order to gain the peasants'sympathy, i. e. to dissipate their "anti-Communist bias."

6) Communist office holders publicly reprimanded any brutalization of priests committed by some local party member or Communist Youth, and showed deep regret for the murder by Russian soldiers of Bishop Apor and several other priests who had bravely defended nuns and other women from raping Russian soldiers.

7) The Communist press did not even mention the religious issue (1945).

In the meantime, the Communist controllers of the press allocated plenty of pulp to a radical 'bourgeois' newspaper — Világ (The World) — which specialized in militant anti-clericalism, so that, by comparison, the Communist press' reserved tolerance should become even more conspicuous.

II. Spreading Confusion and Demoralization of People.

1) Following the hostilities, not only the Red Army soldiers were engaged in wholesale spoliation of stores and homes, but the men in the street were encouraged to participate in plundering. These were not exceptional cases but a patterned, principled Communist attempt to corrupt the morals of the people.

2) Though the population was under the heavy pressure and harsh control of the Red Army and its military rule, the Communists freely tolerated the gloomy activities of thousands of peasants who bartered small quantities of foodstuffs for clothes and other valuables of the starving city population. Greedy peasants thus ruthlessly exploited thousands of starving families who readily gave their clothes, cash and jewelry for food to appease their children's hunger. The toleration of these gloomy practices on a large scale for more than a year was an effective method of undermining village folk's morality.

3) Inflation was the natural consequence of a lost war, the plundering of Nazi forces and the Russian occupation and spoliation. But the Communist leadership which immediately took over financial control, contrary to all sound economics, introduced without delay a system of full economic freedom in a country suffering from a suffocating want of foodstuffs, raw materials, fuel and finished goods. By this measure and other artificial techniques, the Communist masters of economics created a record in the history of inflations: the purchasing power of one trillion monetary units (pengoes) in July, 1946, was equal to the purchasing power of a single monetary unit fourteen months before. The result: a danse macabre of speculation, the emergence of new fortunes, the economic obliteration of people not engaged in the turmoil of profiteering, a widespread demoralization and social disorganization of the business community. I stress the historic fact: artificially accelerated inflation at the beginning of rule is the main weapon which the Communists use in order to undermine public morality and disintegrate a society.

4) The Communist battle for the youth started in an unscrupulous way. In the days of greatest hardship, all the large social clubs seized by the

Communist Party sponsored dances once or twice a week. The dances were extensively advertised, alcohol consumption lasted till dawn, and all young people were welcomed free of charge. Faithful young Catholics boycotted these agencies of demoralization, which promoted sexual intimacy, but many young persons became victims of the campaign and lost the spiritual force needed to resist the organized spread of materialistic hedonism.

5) The material ruin of many, the demoralizing inflation, the urgent need for reconstruction, the *enrichissez-vous* mental climate of the business world, so well known from the aftermath of the great French revolution, helped the Communist endeavor to focus people's attention on the material aspects of life, as though the future of the whole community and the happiness of the individual depended entirely on the material factor.

III. Disarmament of the Church.

While the interests and energies of most people were absorbed by the fight of families to keep their households going through the overwhelming difficulties brought about by scarcity and inflation, the Communists silently deprived the Church of all efficient means of self-defense.

1) An order (No. 600/1945 M. E., issued March 15, 1945) of the provisional government formed in Debrecen, drafted originally by Russian Communists, gave instructions to confiscate, i. e. to secularize without any compensation, all the estates of the Church — the main material basis of her social organization. These estates had been donated by the apostolic kings in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, and the heads of tribes and great families, following the example of their kings, had added to them out of their own private property in order to establish bishoprics and monasteries as strong centers of faith and Christian culture, as mainsprings of learning in a country gained for Western Christendom. A great part of these domains were endowments offered for the souls in purgatory, 'in refrigerium animae.'

This was the main material foundation of the Church in our age of 4,000 churches, 3,148 Catholic schools, 17 bishoprics and archbishoprics, 16 chapter houses, 23 religious orders of men with 1,645 monks, 40 religious orders of women, and 5,146 priests (in 1946). The Church has since been deprived of 699,195 arpents catastrales, roughly 932,000 acres.

One third of the Church's estates, i. e. 266,000 arpents catastrales (about 355,000 acres) were forests, which the secularizing state withholds for itself and is directly exploiting and managing by the Forestry Authority. The confiscation of these forests served no "social purpose" but only the Communists' tactical aim, the "disarmament of the Church" i. e. her impoverishment. For the peasantry it makes little difference if the large forests are Church estates or state domains.

Ninety-five to ninety-seven per cent of the net income of these estates supplied the needs of the ecclesiastic institutions, and an average of three to five per cent of it was the personal income of the "big beneficiaries."

For example, the Prince Primate, Archbishop of Eztergan, enjoyed as his personal income only 0,98 % of the net income of "his" estates before "the great change." (I am indebted for these data to the courtesy of Msgr. Sigismund Mihalovics, former general director of the A. C. of Hungary.)

Several parishes were allowed to retain their twenty to one hundred acres. The seminaries lost their own 29,340 arpents cadastrales, about 40,000 acres, which covered the needs of 1,055 students of theology and 165 professors and took care of the general expenses of the seminaries. One understands the tremendous loss to the Church when one considers that these now confiscated estates represented ninety-nine per cent of the material wealth of the Church, the material basis of her whole cultural activity.

2) While daily declaring the freedom of the press, the Communist distributors of pulp from the beginning of the new era prevented the reappearance of Catholic daily newspapers and curtailed the extent of the only general weekly (*Uj Ember — Homo Novus*). Although at first the Communists permitted broadcasts of ecclesiastic music and some sermons, the harassing interference of radio censorship soon induced the hierarchy to abandon this medium of mass communication.

3) Though Catholics had played an important part in the anti-Nazi resistance movement, Red Marshall Voroshilov's military rule suppressed the formation of a Christian Democratic Popular Party when the reorganization of political life began (Spring, 1945.)

4) In 1946, purging committees removed those office holders from the public service who were found "guilty of clericalism," even if they had been qualified as reliable democratic elements by the first purge, when the application of diversionary tactics spared specifically those prominent Catholics who were previously known as anti-Nazis. By this second purge the Communists wanted to exclude from public service all those who, by their administrative skill and experience, might interfere with the already planned anti-clerical measures.

5) On Russian demand, all Catholic Youth organizations were suppressed (1946), and several Catholic "houses of culture" were arbitrarily occupied by the Communist Party. The measures did not affect the Holy Virgin congregations and the Guards of the Heart.

All these measures curtailed the freedom of action of the Church and, just at the beginning of the great struggle, deprived her of all effective means to counteract the aggressive forces of a militant materialism mobilized for her destruction.

IV. Advance in Class Warfare: Over-all Statism.

Exhausted by the stress of Russian occupation and the confusion of inflation, society had no organized force to resist the restoration of statism. The new rulers even gained some authority by the success of the monetary reform establishing a comparatively stable currency and the new government 's international recognition. The rehabilitation of transportation, the rapid progress of consumer goods production, and the decrease in poverty all contributed to Communist prestige. (The decrease in poverty was partly due to the magnificent relief work performed by the N. C. W. C., the Swiss, Swedish and Danish Welfare agencies, the Irish Catholics and the Belgian parents who, as after the first World War, cared for many Hungarian children in their homes.) When by the signature of the Peace Treaty of Paris the new rule became internationally recognized as government of a country with frontiers fixed by international law, the Communist Party did away with the Small Holders' majority and, aided by the presence of Russian forces, staged a "conspiracy trial." The Communists thus succeeded in achieving full control of the country by obliterating all political rivals.

V. The Application of Indirect Methods: Divide and Rule Tactics.

In the fullness of control, the Communists "synchronized" their anti-religious fight with the more advanced stage of class warfare which they had already realized.

- 1) Hoping to develop a schism within the Church, the Communists supported the establishment of a Döllinger type Old-Catholic denominational organization which was previously unknown in Hungary, having most of its few thousand adherents in Bavaria and Poland. This tentative schism very soon collapsed under ridicule.
- 2) They supported some tiny sectarian movements within the poorest layer of the peasantry in an attempt to confuse the religious minded country folk. But this move only strengthened the loyalty of people of old peasant stock to the Church.
- 3) Drawing an artificial line of demarcation between the "democratic progressive clergy" and the "reactionary archpriests," praising the former and keeping the latter under the heavy pressure of concentrated political attacks, they tried to disintegrate the unity of the hierarchy and that of the clergy in general (1947-48).

4) Through organized intimidation and imprisonment on fake charges, they removed the heads of the Calvinist and Lutheran minority denominations who, in firm unity with the Catholic hierarchy, defended with vigor and determination the cause of religious freedom. (Summer, 1948.)

All these divide and rule tactics broke to pieces on the Rock. Out of the turmoil of sordid passions rose high in the regard of millions the ascetic figure of the Prince Primate of the 'Regnum Marianum,' Cardinal Mindszenty. He had already experienced in his personal life the 'lesson of communism' when, as a young priest, he fought in his own press against it. He was twice imprisoned under the first Communist rule in 1919. He saw through the Communist tricks and tactics and continued to follow Bishop St. Ambrosius' principle:

" A bishop's lips cannot keep silence in the sight of immorality." Cardinal Mindszenty firmly upheld the claims of mutual charity and the natural law in exposing vice, violence and injustice. He evaluated all public immorality with calm and dignity in terms of the divine law, the interpretation and defense of which was the privilege of his office. In 1947 he proclaimed a year in honor of Our Lady, for nine hundred years Patrona Hungariae, in order to atone for the sins of his people and to mobilize religious sentiments. Hundreds of thousands of the faithful rallied around the shrines where he spoke, and sixty to eighty thousand men followed him in procession for many miles. All who suffered humiliation, injustice and violence found their way into his camp. Firm Catholics, self-conscious Protestants, orthodox Jews, radical progressives, disillusioned Socialists, 'Stout-necked Calvinist' Presbyterians - all marched with burning candles in their hands after him. As several times before in her history the Church had become the inner form, the principle of unity of the Hungarian nation, so once again the great and unified majority of the people were clustered within the Catholic sanctuary — in the camp of Cardinal Mindszenty.

VI. The Policy of Direct Action: Overtly Applied Blunt Force.

1) Secularization of the entire Catholic school system.

On July 1, 1948, three months after Rákosi had declared that he had no intention of introducing such a measure, all Catholic schools were secularized. (Statistics compiled by the General Management of Catholic Education, Budapest, reflecting the state of schools in February, 1947, reveal that there were 3,148 schools with 463,405 students and 13,619 teachers in the country at that time. These figures include the fifty-two "gymnases" of the religious orders, strongholds of Hungarian education and the basis of university studies, with 14,597 students (ranging in age from ten to eighteen years) and 981 professors.)

On the eve of this measure, all Communist agencies competed with one another in intimidating and forcing parents' associations, teachers, and students to sign declarations urging the secularization measure. With few sad exceptions, Catholics displayed a firm stand against all these techniques. They were encouraged in their stand by joint pastoral letters, issued almost weekly by Cardinal Mindszenty and all archbishops and bishops, in which the hierarchy collectively protested against the suppression of parents' rights—the inevitable result of over-all secularization of schools. Armed police cars circulated in the villages where infuriated Catholics considered taking up arms to defend their schools. Many parents and students suffered from police reprisals. People on the whole realized that secularization by a state in which the declared official creed is Marxism-Leninism would mean the teaching of all subjects in the spirit and terms of dialectic materialism, using textbooks translated or transcribed from original Russian textbooks. This aspect of the

secularization of free education by a Communist government under Soviet occupation was overlooked by some Western evaluators of this measure.

2) Police measures and the techniques of Communist "authorities" tried to prevent the faithful masses from participating in centuries-old processions and rallies which were held traditionally by the Church on certain occasions at nationally venerated shrines.

In 1948, St. Stephen's Day (August 20) was secularized and replaced by the Feast of Bread, at which time the Communists substituted free vulgar entertainment for the former religious festivals. Following Transport Minister Geroe's orders, railroad depots refused to issue tickets to places where a St. Mary's festival would occur on that day. Railroad employees, even depot heads, were fired or broken in rank if, against orders, they helped people to travel to a place of religious festival. ³ In order to prevent the use of microphones, electric current was interrupted during Catholic festivals. On the days of St. Mary's festivity, the owners of bicycles and horses in the whole surrounding area were obliged to turn over their vehicles or animals to the control of the local authorities in another district.

Devout pilgrims were surrounded frequently during their prayers by heavily armed military and police forces. (This first occurred in Baja on July 31, 1948.) On the same day, at a devotion to Our Lady of Fatima before the Rock-Chapel in Budapest, the police used arms to disperse a crowd of eighty thousand faithful. On July 31, 1948, in the middle of downtown Budapest, the police brutally dispersed a Franciscan procession in honor of St. Anthony of the Lily, injuring many with gun fire. The Communists took great delight in disturbing devotions by broadcasting cheap music, and even competing oratory, from locations close to the churches when many of the people, unable to enter the overcrowded churches, had to stand outside and listen to the ceremonies. At times the police blocked processions on the way to shrines, forcing the people to return to their villages at the point of guns. (This method was first applied near Celldoemoelk on September 12, 1948.) And this is called 'freedom of religion.'

3) Before the arrest and trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, several priests — particularly assistants of archbishops and bishops — had "disappeared."

The secretaries of Bishop Svoy and Bishop Banas were among those who were given this silent treatment. The customary procedure was to call the marked priest to 'a dying aged person' late at night and then kidnap him while he was on his way. Then, by using cruel methods and morbid connivances, the Communists would manage to build up 'evidence' against archpriests.

³ See Msgr. S. Mihalovics 's article on this matter in *Hungarian Catholic Review*, Rome, No. 2, 1949, p. 62.

Cardinal Mindszenty was precisely informed almost five months before his imprisonment that his arrest had been decided.

The Communists took this decisive step for three reasons:

First, Cardinal Mindszenty had voiced the rights, interests, feelings and aspirations of his people with authority and power. His was the only Voice of the Church, and it was the Voice of Hungary as well. Toleration of such an influence would be inconsistent with Communist ruling methods and a sign of weakness. Second, his arrest would show to everyone that even a Prince of the Church was at government mercy. From archbishops and priests down to embittered peasants and youth, no one was strong enough or important enough to withstand the overwhelming Communist power. Cardinal Mindszenty's arrest was a display of Communist power, and as such it was — and is - an effective weapon of far-reaching intimidation. Third, the 'authorities 'were convinced that the 'frightened Bench of Bishops, 'deprived of Cardinal Mindszenty's strong leadership, would gradually become subservient to the State and would lose its hold on the imaginations of those who had joined his camp merely out of nationalism. The Cardinal had brought about the fusion of two popular sentiments, religious feeling and nationalism. Without him, the two could be separated again. Therefore, according to Communist logic, the Cardinal had to be 'liquidated.'

With cries of "He leads the reaction!" the Communist selfdefense attempted to justify its treatment of Cardinal Mindszenty and to gain the approval of Western "progressives." But two months later, in February, 1948, the Communists arrested another man who could not be regarded as a "reactionary" by any standards. That man was Father I. Kerkai, S. J., the apostle of the country-side and idol of the peasantry, an ascetic figure who, long before the present rule, had identified himself with the cause of agrarian reform, had incarnated within himself the social principles of the encyclicals, and had consecrated his whole simple though rich life to the service of the common man. What was his crime? His radiation of Catholicism's rich social content, his inflaming, captivating spirituality in a country where the Communists had made an all-out effort to prove that Catholicism was equal to reaction and materialism, was superb. Father Kerkai's imprisonment (he was sentenced to five years) is a strong, irrefutable proof that not "reaction" but "Catholicism" - spirituality, faith, in short, the Church - suffers and will continue to suffer persecution. (May I mention that Father Kerkai was one of the outstanding anti-Nazi Catholics and a great democrat.)

4) Suppression of the religious orders. The Calvary of the religious orders began in 1949 when the Communists attacked the Jesuit

Collegium Magnum. Other techniques of persecution soon made the function of a Jesuit seminary and the management of the order virtually impossible.

When other religious orders began to suffer similar injuries, the orders addressed a joint memorandum to the heads of state (April 15, 1950) in which they outlined their heavy grievances.

Instead of giving a formal reply, Révai, the spiritus rector of the antireligious campaign proclaimed in the June 6, 1950, edition of Szabad Nép, the official newspaper of the Communist Party, that "a popular democracy does not need any religious orders," that "they are committing sabotage against the people's democracy." On June 9, 1950, late at night, the political police entered several monasteries, breaking in through windows and destroying gates, and expelled three hundred and twenty friars and from six hundred to seven hundred nuns by order of the Minister of the Interior. The religious were told that they must take up compulsory residence some distance away. A half hour for dressing and packing was granted, and each was allowed to take along only ten pounds of baggage.

Before the Bench of Bishops could reassemble to draft its protest against these proceedings, a second wave of deportation of monks took place (on June 18, 1950). This time, fifteen hundred to two thousand friars suffered deportation. This was followed by a third wave of deportation, July 10-12, 1950, which was administered in a less cruel manner because of the public anger aroused by these measures. Finally, the Presidential Council of the People's Democracy issued an "order with legal force" 4 which dissolved all the religious orders in Hungary, some of which had been performing their holy duties and cultural activities since the eleventh and twelfth centuries. According to Communist Minister Révai's exposé addressed to his party, 2,582 friars (including tratres) and 8,056 nuns were affected by these measures. 5

The impact of these drastic measures on religious life and on general culture cannot be exaggerated. Of the 6,791 priests in Hungary in 1950, about one hundred have "disappeared" (to prison or concentration camps); some three hundred have escaped by flight and are now living abroad. Over twelve hundred monks have been prevented from acting as priests. Out of 6,791 priests. twenty-four per cent or 1,645 of them cannot perform their sacred

⁴ Order No. 34, Sept. 7, 1950. See Hungarian Catholic Review, Rome, 1950, No. 3, p. 131.

⁵ See Szabad Nép, June 6, 1950.

duties in their own country. If, in addition, we consider the ever aggravating problems besetting the seminaries and the suppression of some excellent seminaries of the now dissolved orders, we can readily imagine the growing scarcity of priests and the tremendous difficulties of supplying the religious needs of the severely tribulated Hungarian people, seventy per cent of whom are Catholic.

Segregation of the Tormented Church.

The obliteration of monastic life promoted their task: isolation of the faithful from the clergy.

- 1) Employees in public service, in nationalized workshops, and in all crafts and professions have been constantly exposed, reprimanded; thousands were fired for maintaining social intercourse with priests or nuns.
- 2) People in intimate relations with known personages of the clergy have been excluded from employment, their pension rights confiscated if they did not furnish 'information' about their priest friend to the political police.
- 3) University enrollment has been refused to Catholic high school graduates unless proving by deeds their readiness to line up with Communism.
- 4) Ministerial instructions make teaching of religion in public schools successively impossible though religion as subject is tolerated on paper schedules. There is no pulp for printing religious text books; there are 'temporal difficulties' in providing school rooms for religious classes, which are scheduled at very inconvenient hours; students are led off to obligatory meetings and practices, just at the time of religious classes; permanent intimidating press attacks are directed against instructors of religion. They are accused of charges which well characterise Communist mentality: they 'undermine discipline;' 'declare war against people's democracy' by teaching positive law may be disregarded, Church Law be respected; organize rosary praying groups out of 'Kulaks' and exploiters' children; corrupt children's mind by talking about miracles, superstition and alarming rumors.

In the meantime, wholesale indoctrination of the official creed, Marxism-Leninism, by every means applicable by a totalitarian system tries to change the countries' mental climate. Every employee in public service, economic services, workshops, banks, stores, cooperatives, every nurse, railroad man, in short, everybody who earns his living in employment has to attend—twice a week—a course in Marxism-Leninism. That is not enough. Everybody must publicly prove his progress in his study of 'mankind's most progressive knowledge' by making short reports and participating in group studies of Lenin's, Stalin's work, and the standard Bolshevik propaganda literature.

They instill in the attendant's mind the idea that by their forced public reports on the official doctrine in the deviated affirmative way, they are committed to Communism, even if not party members, and if there once may

be 'the big change' they will be taken responsible for once professing Leninism. 'They' try to induce people to fear a further political change even more than they fear their present oppressors. Indoctrination is not merely imbuing people with an ideology, which justifies the present usurpators' policy, it also means the systematic exposure of nearly everybody as fellow traveller, inducing him to fear "a change," and seek his security in complying with orders yielding completely to a new paternalism's demands. And this is the end of personality. Cynicism, nihilism is the road — a stomatic structure continues to function, the self (and not the state!) withers away. 'Dead souls,' extinct by a 'new humanism.' Thus works the Russian system.

The next stage depends on the further forms of class war on an international plane. A war gives Church some sparing time. It is good to have priests at hand when Death does mowing. Soldiers like that. But if peace remains, only an Oriental type subservient church is compatible with prolonged totalitarian rule. Some will yield ... some will resist as Christ's true Church, invisible for many. Her social organization for a time and in some places may be obliterated, but not her essence, His Mystical Body.

"Do not fear, O ye of little hope. I will be with you till the end of time ..." echoes in the hearts of millions over there. Age

of Martyrs arises again and lives become sanctified.

But if adverse circumstances last for long, millions of people will grow up without knowing about Christ, redemption, Church and Gospel, and a heathen mental climate will prevail in "Regnum Marianum," and in other countries of the Eastern Catholic Frontier. Therefore it is our permanent Christian responsibility to care—not in a sentimental but a realistic way—for the salvation of all souls of all people, specially for those who today are the most imperilled parts of His Mystical Body.

Town Life in the Colonies and Religious Behaviour

by Guy Mosmans, of the White Fathers Catholic Action for the Europeans, Kivu, Belgian Congo

INTRODUCTION

Is it not easy to study the influence of town life upon religious behaviour with such a fluctuating population as is found in a colony. In the restricted area of an average Congolese town, with a few hundred Europeans, departures can radically alter the situation. At Costermansville, in mid-1950 many large families reached the end of their stay. The result was a drop in numbers in certain youth activities: hence the need to start again with new recruits. Before these latter have become adapted to the milieu a long time may elapse, and this is a very incertain period.

The following notes must not, then, be taken as the last word on the subject. Some points are absolutely valid, others only

relatively so.

In a vast country like Congo, conditions vary considerably from one region to another and from one centre to another.

Usumbura, the European centre nearest to Costermansville, has an entirely different climate which involves a quite different manner of living in some respects.

¹ After having studied philosophy at Saint Trond, Rev. Fr. Mosmans entered the society of the White Fathers (1930). In 1936, he took his licentiate in Theology at Rome. Sent to the Belgian Congo, he was successively missionary in the bush (1936-1938), founder and director of a college for European children at Costermansville (1938-1941), collaborator of the Jesuit Fathers at the college taken over by them, and at the same time, chaplain to the Catholic Action, and religious instructor in various establishments. Rev. Fr. Mosmans has had charge of the European parish of Costermansville. He has taken part in the work of several government commissions. — Fr. Mosmans has published various articles in the Catholic Action Review and articles on present day problems in the local press. — Address: B. P. 158, Costermansville, Belgian Congo (Editor's note).

Moreover, in these small European groupings, individuals exert a big influence, all the more marked as the majority are employees either of the Government or of various Companies. The mere change of an official often suffices to modify the whole social life of the place.

We must also take into account the fact that the Europeans arrive in the colony with an outlook acquired in a European environment.

Lack of preparation for colonial life and certain renunciations which are the price of employment by the government or firms lessen the ability of the new comers.

In the primary and middle schools of Belgium there is no intelligent propaganda in favour of colonial careers. In the Catholic schools, the only picture of the Congo which is put before the young people dreaming of adventures, is furnished by missionary lecturers.

At a higher level AUCAM ("Aide de l'Université Catholique aux Missions") offers the elite with an ideal, and some University faculties have a colonial section. The colonial university trains administrators. But these furnish a specialised course, and the need is to draw towards a colonial career a larger number of young men, from high schools and technical schools.

With regard to girls there is no institution which gives any kind of attention to the responsibilities of a woman colonist.

Too often the motives which lead men to go overseas are of a very mediocre order: the desire of making as much money as possible, as quickly as possible, the desire of escaping the difficulties of a life which is more and more interfered with by the demands of the State, or even, which is now becoming more common, the wish to get away from the dangers of world catastrophes, communism, invasion, etc., all of them egoistical and not likely to lead towards a truly Christian manner of living.

To understand the state of mind of newly arrived colonists, we must call back to mind a danger, which is happily less with the greater use of aircraft, and that is the voyage out.

Greenhorns to these new surroundings flock round the old timers, who, by reason of their experience, pontificate and dogmatise with an exaggerated emphasis on the material and pleasure-seeking side of life. When difficulties arise, these impressions sap resistance. And in addition, the artificial existence on the ship, all moorings loosed, far from social constraint, in a cosmopolitan

atmosphere, dissipated and pseudo luxurious, is the cause of many a fall, of which the least is a desire for a similar freedom and comfort to be carried on in the colony.

This long introduction seemed necessary in order to convey the attitude of mind of many on their arrival on African soil, and to allow us to judge more objectively their religious and moral behaviour.

I. THE PLACE OF THE ENQUIRY

It is Kivu, a region of high mountains and the great lakes in the east of Belgian Congo, and more particularly the capital, Costermansville, situated at the extreme southern end of Lake Kivu. The town is built on five peninsulas, and as a result is much scattered and distances are considerable: the hilly nature of the country makes travelling difficult.

Notre-Dame de la Paix is the one parish for Europeans and two native groups: the military camp and that for the police. Situated on the summit of the second peninsula, and in a relatively central position, the church and the priest are at a distance of five and three kilometres respectively from the boundaries of the town.

On the 30th June 1950 the population consisted of 2.257 Europeans (without counting the 539 boarders at the three scholastic establishments). Comprising 718 men, 569 women and 970 children, this population is constantly increasing, and actually one may count up to about 3.000 inhabitants.

There are no poor or needy: the great majority possess means to live comfortably and there is a minority with large incomes.

Of the 718 adult males, 203 are in Government service, 212 in the employment of the firms, 263 settled on their own, and 40 missionaries.

The town being the capital of the province, the centre of several major societies and of commerce, there is a majority of professional and business men. There are almost no whites among the working class: each European controls a more or less numerous body of native workmen.

Out of the total of 2.796 Europeans (counting the school boarders), 2.504 are Catholics, 71 Protestants, 13 Moslems, 30 Jews, and 178 unbaptised.

The parish possesses a temporary chapel with seating for 225 and some halls which are well designed and lately erected.

Religious houses:

1) the Jesuit college (472 pupils) with a public chapel which serves nearly two districts of the town.

2) the Marist Brothers, with a primary school attached to the

college as well as the lower class of modern humanities.

3) the Holy Family Sisters, with the Girls'School (about 300 pupils).

4) the White Sisters, who run the hospital.

5) the Lay Helpers of the Missions, who have charge of a social centre in the native city.

II. RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOUR

I. Practice.

One might fix upon an average of 800 persons attending regularly at Mass on Sundays, which, making allowance for infants,

makes an approximate proportion of 45%.

There is no point in defining the ratio of men, women and children, for on the whole, the attendance is by families, all the members of which go to their religious duties; and these are drawn from all the professional classes.

In order to realise the unsatisfactory nature of statistics one should remember that the parish is in course of organisation, that there are several places at which Mass can be heard, and, above all, that there is always a fluctuating percentage of the population (on leave or posted elsewhere) and that this percentage is not much less than 20 to 25% of the total.

Certain material difficulties make attendance at Mass hard or impossible: for instance, parents cannot leave little children at

home unattended, and also the lack of transport.

The number of Easter communions corresponds to the numbers at Mass.

As for baptisms, all the children of the Catholic families, even the non-practising ones, are baptised. In the same way, marriages

and burials are as a rule religious ceremonies.

With regard to family prayers there is an almost universal falling-off, and the same applies to grace before and after meals, with rare exceptions. There are also families in which the parents are strict with their children over their religious observances (especially the sacraments) while they themselves do not set an example.

Our Christians had a religious background in the home country, where very often piety is strictly individualist and formalist. Religion has but little influence on life: Sunday is remembered

because it has a different time-table, but it is not thought of during the week. Religion consists of a collection of prayers and tiresome regulations imposed by custom.

In Africa, it is difficult to frequent the sacraments, especially going to confession: owning up to sins of the flesh is hard for one's pride, and sins committed in business are not easy to speak of to a priest whom one knows. We have been spoilt by the comfortable anonymity of the confessional in Europe.

This difficulty of practising religion, the absence of the religious framework to which one is accustomed at home, cause the majority to drift into an indifference which is accentuated the

longer one stays in the country.

The long evenings spent in drinking, the Saturday trips, the week-end parties, lead to late rising and the habit of missing Mass.

At the same time, — as we shall note later, — this state of things provokes a reaction with some resulting in greater depth and a strengthening of their convictions. But these latter are in a minority, and all the more so because assistance at daily Mass and frequent Communion are practically impossible under the circumstances, for work in Africa begins early.

Although these facts all make for imprecision in arriving at any figures, we may tentatively suggest the following percentages: out of the Catholics who are resident in the parish, 55% are seasonal in their attendance, 30% are regular, 10% fluctuate between the two categories, and 5% are devout. One cannot find a more marked proportion by taking the professional and commercial classes separately.

2. Beliefs.

90 % of the baptised children attend religious instruction. Amongst the adults knowledge of their religion is usually very rudimentary: it is a sketchy equipment which one carries about with one without examination and without attempting to renovate it or adapt it to new conditions of life. When one of the component parts does not fit in with the demands of daily life and

work, it is dropped.

On the other hand, it must be remarked that amongst those who have control of the fortunes of the country, the religious problem often crops up with urgency and leads them to start an enquiry which, only too often, they discontinue through lack of time. Discussions on religious teaching, periodically started, are always successful. We become aware of the existence of a real preoccupation with religion, handicapped by the urgency and importance of the individuals'duties.

Many of the colonials have strong religious convictions and are not afraid to make them known and respected: but these convictions are stereotyped and based on habit, and so not live. Confusing natural and divine law with positive human precept and seeing this latter is often incapable of being observed, they come to the conclusion that they are free of all obligation. At first, it comes hard to give up old customs, but one is soon acclimatised to living as pagans. As a proof, Catholics who have thus abandoned their faith often make the sincere remark that "giving it up has not caused any gap in my life: I do not suffer from it. What should I gain by inflicting all these duties upon myself?" Misunderstanding of the Christian life.

Religion is looked upon as indispensable for the establishing of a social and moral order among non-civilised peoples. Hence there is an official adhesion to it on the part of some of the rulers. But this standpoint is accompanied by the view that in our own stage of civilisation it is of not so much importance. Founded on Christianity, we are now strong enough to stand clear of its rules and limitations. Besides, it is more dignified and worthy of man to establish his own rules of conduct rather than bow to

superior authority through fear of sanctions.

Difficulties in believing are not as a rule of a dogmatic kind, but strictly practical. "What is the use of religion? What will it do for me personally or in my dealings with others?" Living in a country which is being developed, the colonial is above all a man of action, accustomed to look for returns and for efficiency. This attitude of mind invades the religious domain and leads to suc-

cessive rejections.

Instinctively desirous of justifying their new attitude, some cling to secondary difficulties or objections. They admit as facts and obstacles any thing that is "against." There are, too, some slogans which come handy as excuses. For instance, there is the reproach often cast up at the missionary that he is not interested in those of his flock whose skin is white. One would say, on hearing them make this objection, that the duty of promoting Christian life is merely the priest's, and that religious practice is not primarily a personal matter and depends on the will and the generosity of the individual.

3. Morality.

Family morals. — In our district it is encouraging to count the number of fine families who are an example to all, white and black: however, the crucial problem for the majority of Christian

families is that of the limitation of births. Motives are various: some, deriving from environment, are strong; others are inspired by egoism, more or less conscious.

We will mention, without dwelling too long on the subject, amongst the first: the health of the wife, the rigours of the climate, financial reasons, the special difficulty of education. Amongst the second class, is the materialist outlook which inclines to pleasure-seeking and the avoidance of responsibility, the idleness and self-ishness of young women who do not want children because they are a hindrance. The materialist's creed leads to free love and to divorces. This spirit has contaminated some of the young people, who become very licentious.

However, the quality of these coming out since the end of the war, together with many good families, has brought about a healthy reaction.

Social morality. — The spirit of mutual aid which was and still remains in many regions one of the best characteristics of the colonial mentality is much weakened in the towns and has given place to an egoism, individual, of family or of caste. It is one of the most frequent charges made by non-Catholics and the lapsed.

But the great failing in social morality is the attitude towards the native. Theoretically and officially, one tries to establish human relations between white and black. But, in practice, this is only carried out by a few individuals. Others act chiefly from a mercenary motive: they think that without the natives we are helpless, so we must win them over or lose them.

For the majority (we speak of a township; other distinctions would be needed for the bush stations), the practical attitude is inspired by the feeling of representing a chosen race among beings of an inferior grade of humanity.

Hence come exacting orders, hypertrophy of the ego, the inability to bear with the slightest contradiction. The native is judged not by his human qualities, but by the services he renders. This is far indeed from the living charity of the Christian ideal and is one of the deep reasons for the religious devitalisation of the Europeans.

4. The mutual effects of faith, morality and practice.

Amongst those who seem to be believers, there is a small number of very good souls, a fair number who practice regularly, and a majority of "seasonal" Christians.

It would be unjust to dogmatise about the morality of the "regulars." If one gives the word "morality" the restricted

meaning of "good manners," one might say that it is high; but if one means the practice of all the virtues which go to make up family and social morals, then we must make distinctions and vary our judgement. What we have already said gives some idea of how matters are.

III. INFLUENCE OF THE MILIEUX ON RELIGIOUS CONDUCT

I. Climate and housing.

Although Costermansville is situated in a "healthy" district, it is obvious that the climate is not that of the mothercountry. Kivu is astride the Equator and if the altitude (average 1.600 metres) tempers the tropical heat, it also has the effect of enervation.

Consequently, any excess of work has a much greater effect on the nervous system than in Europe. The climate acts indirectly on the will. Self-control is not so easy.

Some think that altitude and the volcanic nature of the country also exert depressing influence. It is not possible to give a definite opinion, but it does seem as though the considerable atmospheric depressions, the intense electricity of the atmosphere, contribute to a state of nervous tension or prostration which makes social contacts difficult, and does not facilitate true Christian charity.

A direct consequence of the rigours of the climate (heat, the rains, the altitude) and of the sprawling nature of the town is the difficulty of getting to the places of worship on foot. In some cases real courage is required to go to Mass on Sunday. Some have their

own means of transport, but this is not general.

This difficulty is particularly felt when it is a case of non-Sunday meetings (services, conferences, works of zeal). It is a great problem to choose an hour convenient for the majority and one is always at the mercy of one of those tropical downpours which not only make it impossible to travel on foot but also make it difficult to get into or out of one's vehicle.

Finally, the town is still in process of construction; avenues and boulevards are marked out, but scaffoldings and building

apparatus make walking difficult.

Public health services and the amenities of town life are under way but far from being perfect. These are important elements in the leading of moral lives. If the pavements were perfect, the street lighting adequate, the whole appearance of the town pleasing, one would go out with more pleasure, there would be less to grumble about and the general atmosphere would be much improved.

2. The family.

In the hearts of almost all the young people who come, does exist a little light of religious, patriotic and humanitarian idealism. Even if they believe themselves to have broken with their past, they bring with them a bundle of Belgian traditions and of Christian beliefs and customs.

Yet they act as though only material advantage mattered. The individual uprooted or simply out of his naturally surroundings soon loses his moral sense. Even the Christian soon falls into moral laxity once freed from practical and immediate restraints to which he has been submitted.

Many Catholics, in the colony, lose their religious habits of life. It is generally said that laxity of morals keeps the young colonials away from their religious duties; but it is more the spiritual deterioration that brings laxity of morals in its train.

Why is this spiritual deterioration so particularly apparent here? There are many external causes, mainly to be found in the lack of family circle which in Belgium keeps its members straight; in the colony it is a very mixed society, eager for gain, materialistic and indifferent to religion.

Even more than the tropical environment, the moral atmosphere of the colony leads to sexual irregularities. Isolation is more overwhelming than the temperature. The family as a source of control and as a support is far away. Respect for the good name of one's family does not weigh. There is no reluctance to overcome on the part of the black woman. When the European wife gives in to adultery, it is generally as a consequence of social laxity and the colonial atmosphere: a hasty marriage, prolonged absences of the husband, idleness, promiscuity with chance acquaintances barely supplying for the lack of family affection, the practice of birthcontrol due to the discomfort and instability of the home. The woman in the colonies is exposed to many temptations for which her upbringing in Belgium under the shadow of the church tower has ill-fitted her.

The difficulties of bachelors. — Most of these spent a period in the bush before coming to the town. Now in the bush one is laid open to a native milieu all too ready, being self-interested and amoral, to provide the white man with women and girls for money.

Isolation and long solitary evenings lower resistance at times, and once caught in the net, it is very hard to escape.

One gradually looks upon certain inadmissible customs as natural. For instance, one becomes so accustomed to polygamy that one advances the money for a second wife. To facilitate getting men, one has prostitutes with the caravan.

In short, there is a pagan materialism at work in which the sexual impulse is given free play. It constitutes a favourable atmosphere for the philosophy of materialism of the Europeans, who, ignoring the religious ideas of the pagan (spirits, worship of ancestors, etc.) only retains what is in conformity with pleasure seeking materialism.

We will not describe the dangers of concubinage. Even in Christian families, divorce and broken homes do not cause surprise.

Dangers for women. — Even in the towns, there are not only households. Social relationships, frequent and inevitable (e. g. the time of the aperitive) bring married women and bachelors together. As feminine companionship is limited, comparison between women more difficult, and feelings more easily aroused, any woman becomes more attractive. Conscious of their power of seduction, they are tempted to try their skill. Therein lies a real peril. Colonial life admits of easier contact.

At these intimate times, women receive confidences provoked by homesickness or discouragement; often they themselves are lonely. An apparently innocent camaraderie deteriorates progressively. Many a divorce has been begun in such a fashion. Lack of self-control and flippancy have grave consequences in such circumstances.

The African workingday should know no empty hours nor minutes of boredom. The low level of culture, the narrow sphere of interest, but above all the insufficient education, the absence of character and personality, ignorance of social and family responsibilities, all put an obstacle in the way of woman's influence and make her also more frivolous, aimless, more at the mercy of amusements.

"The moral traditions of Belgium have wrapped girls round with a close mantle of protecting virtues. If they sometimes cast it aside in a desire for liberty or in a fit passion, they feel it incumbent upon them to resume it because of their environment. In the Congo, far from home care, this mantle does not long remain part of the trousseau for the voyage, nor of colonial apparel. If the young woman has not understood the beauty and becomingness of such a garment, it soon appears to her to be heavy and out of fashion, given the relaxation of contemporary morals. A smile is quite enough to wound their amour-propre and start their moral downfall "(J. Arnold).

Advantages of African life for families. - From the foregoing it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that colonial life is

entirely adverse to the family circle.

The immensity of colonial work naturally leads the wife to help her husband. The long African evenings are favourable to a deep intimacy. In this way there are very helpful conditions for a couple resolved to live up to their ideal.

The influence on the children. - However good and clean these may be, the native nurses have no notion of hygiene and many illnesses could be avoided if European mothers looked after their own children. Speaking generally, natives do not have the sheltered childhood that we have, and it is really dangerous from this point of view to give them the care of children.

As soon as the children begin to grow up and become conscious of their own personality and the superiority of their race, it is unwise to put natives at their services, for they will abuse their

authority and harm their own characters.

By making their life too easy, they also acquire disastrously lazy habits: some children will not stoop to pick anything up, but call for a boy, to come and do it. In this way they learn to look upon all with a black skin as their slave and in later life will not come to understand their responsibilities towards them.

Often, too, their mental ability is affected: living always with their "boy", they become accustomed to making little intellectual effort. They are late in learning to talk and give orders by

means of signs and monosyllables.

Children who have less direct contact with natives respect them more; they understand that the blacks are not slaves but servants to be respected and loved.

The outdoor life does not favour study, so great care must be

taken to accustom children to personal discipline.

3. The economic milieu.

It may be stated that the Europeans in Costermansville make a good living. They are thus enabled to live more comfortably

and luxuriously than in Europe.

But here lies the danger. A tendency to megalomania is encouraged by this search for comfort and luxury, and some are led to live beyond their means. Hence they become incessantly preoccupied with money, and this takes away the freedom of mind necessary for a truly human and religious way of life.

This want of simplicity can bring about unexpected difficulties. For instance, the attempt at grouping young couples had to be given

up because, instead of aiming at simplicity, they assumed a standard which household budgets could not support.

4. The professional milieu.

If the colonial is in a privileged position from an economic point of view, he is certainly generous. An appeal for money is never in vain.

However, this generosity does not extend to the gift of himself. There is very often a fear of compromising himself, and in excuse he argues that service in a Church activity would be detrimental to his official duties. He gives his "share" and forgets that the best gift is that of oneself, whole and entire.

To be fair we should say that he is tied down to his job, be it a firm or the government. His promotion depends on the reports of his chiefs and even when, as is happily often the case, those chiefs are impartial and objective, there is always the instinctive reaction of modelling his conduct on that of his immediate superior.

In any case, this dependence on the firm is an obstacle which may influence both religious and moral behaviour.

This must be modified as regards Costermansville, where a good third of the population are their own masters, though many of these are dependent on the government and the firms to buy their services.

This particular circumstance attending the lives of the business and professional men has the effect of making them cautious to avoid any rumours on their account.

5. Religious circles.

A. Influence of the parish. — The religious life presupposes not only strong convictions but also a constant, regular and intense practice of prayer and the sacraments. In this sphere, the chief factor is the generosity of the individual, but we must also note that circumstances differ considerably. If, in contrast to the inhabitants of bush stations, the dwellers in the towns enjoy greater amenities, it is none the less true that for all in the colony, there are not the same religious privileges as in Europe.

Usually the colonial Catholics have been shaped in their religious habits by our traditional Catholic background in Belgium where facilities abound. The atmosphere is full of Christian traditions if not always of the Christian spirit: there are innumerable organisations, adapted to every need and to all tastes. Thus religious practice becomes too easily merely a way of looking at

things, of thinking, judging, which is common to everyone, but never becomes really personal.

Now, for many colonials, these traditions disappear on arrival in the colony: isolation, no meetings or religious ceremonies, impossibility of daily Mass, great difficulty in receiving the sacraments, without mentioning the positive influence of the new milieu which is indifferent and saturated with materialistic preoccupations. The undernourished interior life rapidly disintegrates: One slackens imperceptibly in living a Christian life and indifference sets in.

A common reflection is "We have been led to centre our lives on our daily Mass. How is it possible to maintain this anchor, when we can get to Mass at the most once in three or four months?"

We must also take note of the independent spirit of the colonials which makes them impatient at any kind of dragooning. This individualism is very marked. There is not the class distinction that there is in Belgium. On the other hand, in one professional stratum differences in mentality are very pronounced.

It follows that when a charitable organisation is to be started, it is almost impossible to find a formula to correspond to the fundamental needs of any kind of majority among the parishioners. In the attempt to please everybody a whole lot of works of zeal are begun which are far too numerous to be adequately supported.

It is difficult therefore to judge how much influence is exerted by these parish organisations: in Africa the work of the parish is to be judged by the contact of man with man, of the priest with his flock, the impact of the ardent Catholic on his friends. Thus there is a real need for a well organised Catholic Action, still in the embryonic stage at present.

As for collective parochial action, the individualistic spirit militates against it. This mentality will be long in changing.

Finally we must mention the fluctuating population which is a serious complication in parochial organisation and the functioning of societies. The youth movement which exists in Costermansville is seriously hampered by periodical crises caused by the departure on leave of those who are in charge or of the young people themselves.

This also explains why the effect on the parish of these youth movements is so precarious. One example will prove this: A boy becomes a Wolfcub, then a scout. In these two troops he receives a training, interrupted by absences on leave, but still an efficient one. When this is at an end and he should be taking his place as

a leader, he leaves the Colony for a long period of university study

and, if he returns, it is usually as a married man.

To sum up: The influence of the parish as such is limited. What there is comes from individual contacts. As for its effect on the people as a whole, that has to be confined to providing for religious services under the best possible conditions.

B. The influence of paganism. - We will not dwell on the evil influence which paganism can exert on Europeans; we have already spoken of it with reference to family life. Such influence, too, is more apparent upcountry than in the towns where there is segregation of white and black.

We shall rather insist on the interest which the best among the colonials are taking in the welfare both religious and moral of the native: this interest leads to a desire to be better themselves.

Here are some of the views expressed on the subject by young scouts who have met to discuss the subject:

That whites and blacks are able to live in friendship together appears not only as a possibility but also as a good thing, an advance in civilisation. After the events of this century, all must realise the stupidity of the barriers which men try to set up. Exaggerated nationalism, prejudices of race or colour, have demonstrated their destructive nature so that there is no need of other reasons for their condemnation.

There must be a guiding principle at the root of all civilisation, progress, cooperation, fraternity. The attempt may be made to establish fraternity on the grounds of the natural obligation for men to help one another and love one another in order to attain their common end. But such motives remain vague and unsatisfying if they are not brought to life by the religion of Christ.

If as Catholics, white and black are united in brotherhood in Christ, it is immediately clear that not only is association possible, but is necessary and highly desirable. Scouts then must form the advance-guard in this hopeful movement.

Here is the picture of the qualities of a colonial scout:

Openmindedness, a keen sense of responsibility and of selfsacrifice, humility as to race, the primary necessity of being worth something, to think first of how much collaboration is possible and not of exclusiveness.

This desire for an apostolate springs to life with greater contact with the native. Here is the simple statement of a parishioner:

I am lacking in sanctity because I fail to be at the service of souls: I do not forget myself sufficiently when with others in order to try to understand them, because they differ from me: it is easy enough to interest oneself in the problems of one's friends or those whom one resembles, but these others! We ought to give more than they because we have received so many more graces; owing to our training, we ought to think that perhaps they are waiting for us to help them to rise, while too often through our lack of understanding charity we create a barrier between them and God.

6. The literary milieu.

As we have already stated, the African climate produces fatigue and nervous tension. Intellectual laziness is a common failing. After a day's work, it needs real courage to do any study or any serious reading. At Costermansville as elsewhere, this trouble exists, but thanks to the proportion of university men in the population, there is often quite an intellectual tinge to social gatherings. Ideas are exchanged, there are discussions and little private groups are regularly formed, semi-public or public, where there is debate on contemporary problems.

This means that new currents of ideas easily find a place: with varying fortunes, societies such as Catholic Action for Europeans, the League of the Rights of Man, an attempt at a political party, the Association for secular schools have all come to birth at Cos-

termansville.

From the religious point of view, this has its advantages and its dangers. A danger because modern philosophical notions find an intelligent audience, and their ideas are passed on to less trained minds. Thus the Foundation of the League of the Rights of Man had a great success and for a time numbered a few good Catholics among its adherents. Also the laicist movement, under the pretext of ensuring equal liberty for all, has succeeded in influencing certain sections of the population including some Catholics. So there is a real danger for Catholics whose religious education has not been complete.

But this intellectual curiosity and interest in current ideas has also its *advantages*: it is possible to arrange for higher religious courses and study circles dealing with the Mystical Body of Christ, which, without any particular attempt at propaganda, attracted 35 people at the first meeting, 67 at the next and nearly 100 at

the third.

Of course these activities only reach a minority, but they contribute to the strengthening of the religious beliefs of some of

the parishioners, who inevitably react on others.

Another advantage is the serious attention given to the debates concerning the future of the country: the evolution of the natives, education, christianisation, the colour bar, etc. Not all the suggested solutions are commendable, but that is much better than indifference and lack of all interest.

7. Recreations.

The obligation of relaxation to recreate one's energies is more imperious here than elsewhere. But it is essential to employ the times of recreation with forethought and reflection: otherwise, there is a grave danger of harmful idleness or unhealthy amusements.

Organised entertainments are rare. The best are those which are family affairs, where ties are knit more closely. For the intellectual, reading and music provide beneficial relaxation. Sports, popular and varied, are a source of real recreation.

There are two chief dangers:

- I) At the bridge party arrangements are made for meeting the following day for cocktails where books will be discussed and an appointment made for the cinema, without the slightest moral discrimination being made. Passing from one amusement to another, one is never in one's own home and family life is lost sight of: the first to suffer are the children.
- 2) There is another danger, chiefly for the young people. Not knowing how to combat boredom and loneliness, they flock to the cafés where they drink and dance till the early hours. And then, because more spicy amusement becomes necessary, some equally idle girls are brought along so that the parties come to take on a vicious aspect. The evil caused by those who behave in this way is widespreading and often irreparable.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

It would be presumptuous to attempt to sum up in general terms these remarks made about one particular colonial town. We have a world in process of formation: the isolation of European Catholics in the midst of the masses of the native population will have to make way for a new society founded on the mingling of black with white in charity.

When shall we see this? How many changes must first take

place? We are not in a position to prophesy.

We have mentioned some of the infavourable factors to the spread of Christianity in the colony and perhaps some have received a pessimistic impression. A missionary of 13 years' standing amongst the Costermansville Catholics may be permitted to give as his considered opinion, with all confidence in divine grace, a real optimism as regards the future, acquainted as he is with the successes and the difficulties of colonial Catholic life.

Influence of Milieux on the Christian Life of the African Native

by Sister Marie-André du S. C.
Of the Sæurs Blanches du Cardinal Lavigerie 1

Much consideration is being given at the present day to the influence exercised on individuals by the various milieux in which they live, shaping their mentality and daily behaviour, usually without their knowing it.

This fact is more easily grasped in native Africa, where personalities are very rare, since such are unable to be formed and developed in the collective life, infusing a gregarious outlook

into each individual.

Lumen Vitae has published numerous articles on the influence of the African milieu in Belgian Congo. In French Africa, there is the same influence at work; it must be known if one is to understand and judge properly the civilising work of the Missions

and the Christian life of neophytes.

The Catholic Missions have been established in French Africa for about a century on the Coast, for fifty years in the interior of French West Africa and in the Cameroons. When we say "established," we mean that the missionaries founded their first stations a hundred or fifty years ago, and that gradually others have been opened. Even today missionaries settle in "new"

After having studied law at the Facultés Catholiques at Lille, Sr. Marie-André de Sacré-Cœur entered the Congregation of the Missionary Sisters of Notre-Dame d'Afrique. First missionary in North Africa, she later went to French West Africa. On her return, she published articles on the situation of the African woman, then in 1939, with Payot, a very well documented study of La femme noire en Afrique Occidentale. In 1949 Sr. Marie-André du Sacré-Cœur (who had been 16 years in Africa) was given the task of studying anew the family problems in Africa by the Office de la Recherche Scientifique Outre-Mer. – Temporary address: Procure des Srs. Missionnaires de N.-D. d'Afrique, 16, Byd des Invalides, Paris VIIe, France (Editor 's note)

territories, that is, where no whites have been before and where there are no native Christians. The people had lived for centuries without ever having known Christianity, they have their social institutions, their way of life, their own ideas. What are these, and to what extent are they receptive of the Gospel message? This seems to be the first question to be considered.

1. The pagan milieu of native Africa.

In black Africa (we omit the strongly Islamic regions and those where the Christian missions are firmly rooted) everything is pagan: family, social institutions, beliefs, morals, justice, mentality. It is not a superficial paganism, a worship of more or less respected deities, leaving the individual free to act as he likes in daily life. For the African there is no disassociation between "pagan life" and daily conduct; the latter is subordinate to the former, and every infringement of religious customs is a social offence calling for punishment.

This interpenetration of religious and social life constitutes the chief difference between the African pagan and what are known as the 'pagan' masses in the dechristianised regions of Europe. There the most atheistic materialist may be indistinguishable in his outward behaviour from the most ardent Christian. In Africa the pagan is much more differentiated from the Christian, simply because Africa is still pagan, whereas the most dechristianised of Western Europeans still being impregnated with Christian influences. If we do not notice this, it is because we have

not lived in a really pagan country.

Let us make a few random observations. In Western Europe, the *calendar* is Christian: it mentions Sundays, the feasts of saints, and the principal liturgical solemnities are kept as feast days by the entire population. The most laicised schools still have their Christmas and Easter holidays and if the pupils do not know what these feasts mean, they can find out from their Christian neighbour, or even from their school dictionary. Besides, the church is never very far away; they may not know what goes on inside, refuse to enter through disdain or distrust, but they know it exists, served by a priest either respected or reviled, but who is, and everyone knows it, at the service of all.

The family, even the dechristianised irregular one, has its Christian background. For many free love is a monogamous extralegal marriage; and if divorce has struck at the indissolubility of the marriage tie, our modern dechristianised home does not

have polygamy. And if in our great cities the white slave traffic exists, it has the disapproval of the majority. The girl and the widow are not looked upon as chattels only to be given in marriage at a price, or to be taken over as part of the goods of a defunct brother.

In large industrial concerns it may be that the organisation of *work* does not allow of Sunday rest for all; all the same a number of shops are shut on Sundays and the majority of salaried workers do not work on "the Lord's Day."

One could go on making many other comments; these will suffice by way of contrast to make us realise better what effective paganism really is.

In the African family a marriage contract is entered into without the future partners being consulted or even informed. The highest bidder puts up the price of the bride to a degree which makes it impossible for a poor man to compete; widows are inherited; polygamy, destructive of family intimacy, prevails; and all this is only the exterior of a situation which lowers the status of women. Her father or head of the family will only give her to a man from whom he can expect useful service or money. In the Sudan, a woman is worth up to 100,000 francs and more. One was "married" for 20,000 frs dowry, 150,000 frs in presents and 543 grammes of gold. In the Cameroons the son-in-law must pay between 50 and 200,000 frs to get a wife excluding the expenses of the marriage ceremony. How can an instructor or a male nurse earning 3,000 frs a month marry? He needs 2,000 frs a month to live on. The widow is no more free than the girl: she has to reimburse the family of her late husband with the dowry given with her before she can remarry.

Social institutions are basically religious: the worship of the local deities gives rise to great ceremonies, but also to the principal acts of everyday life: sacrificial ceremonies must precede the sowing and the harvest; too little or too much rain requires sacrifices and processions in which all the inhabitants must take part; a birth, a marriage, an illness, a death, all necessitate the intervention of supernatural powers and their representatives.

Failure in respect to the deities, disregard of their orders, refusal to give up a child to serve them, violation of customs, etc., all have their varying sanctions, dictated by custom or prescribed by the offended fetish. Sometimes it entails death — or poison devised to move the culprit to repentance; if he promises to amend his life, an antidote restores him to health.

Need we quote cases of catechists being poisoned? There are too many. The blacks make use of vegetable poisons; some weaken the sick person slowly; others cause death in one or three days. These last are preferred when the object is to strike all in the village with fear. "It is the fetish that has killed him," they say. Catechumens who have given up the worship of certain fetishes cannot return to their villages or they would certainly be poisoned.

The rhythm of daily life is ruled by periodical markets. Often the market day is a day of rest from work in the fields. In other places, notably those where there has been long contact with Europeans or Islam, the weekly rest day is fixed for Monday or Friday.

In the bush, men and women work together in the fields, but in the tropical forest it is nearly always the duty of the women. The man contents himself with cutting down trees and making boxes; that is all. In the Cameroons I have seen women bent double over the field while the man knitted.

Their way of *thinking* is collective; the opinion of all, the moral rule of the tribe, do not always go hand in hand with the Decalogue. For example, theft within the tribe is blameworthy, but not from

strangers.

Misconduct and adultery are permitted or forbidden according to the different tribes and according to the persons involved. One might almost adapt the saying of Pascal: "Crime on this

side of the river, praiseworthy act on that side."

European sanctions for crimes or delicts do not change the mentality of the people. If a young man has been sent to prison for repeated thefts, no one blames him; all sympathise with him for having let himself be caught, and his family deprive themselves to bring him the food he likes best. One day at Mossi we were brought some native beer: "Whose feast is it today?" "It is Augustin, he came out of prison yesterday and is entertaining all his friends"!!! A murderer appears for trial after a long period. "You wished to kill X.?" the president of the tribunal asks. "Yes, but a long time ago!" And the man cannot understand why he should be condemned, in spite of the weighty charges, for a crime committed the year before.

2. Influence of the African milieu on the reception of Christianity and on Christian life.

What are the reactions of such people to the Christian message

and what is their treatment of Christians among them?

Even amidst these pagan tribes Christian groups rise and develop. The religious sense of the African is often a steppingstone to Christianity; if all missions can tell of neophytes persecuted at the outset by their families, conversions may follow on normally afterwards. There are some regions in French West Africa and the Cameroons where they are progressing rapidly, bringing almost the entire tribe to Christ.

Are we to conclude that in these privileged parts the milieu has become Christian? Yes, in a sense; but there is still a pagan atavism which is shown more in the debased condition of women than in recourse to fetishes or by a certain frailty of behaviour.

Normally, where a Christian group develops in a fetishist milieu, pagans and Christians live together, members of the same family and clan. What is the *influence of this association upon Christian*

vitality and on the religious practice of the neophytes?

It is impossible to generalise. Every Christian, whether African or European, has his own individuality; he loves God and serves Him in his own way, according to his temperament, his degree of intelligence and culture, his education, the strength or weakness of his pagan atavism, the fervour of his preparation for baptism and the personal graces with which he is favoured. Some are true saints: ardent practice of their religion without faltering or decline, exemplary moral life, charity to the point of self-sacrifice to make the true religion known among their pagan surroundings, acts of virtue bordering on heroism. These élites are, in proportion, as numerous as in Europe. In Africa they are seldom cut off from the rest, but they do not have the influence which their personal merit warrants when their neighbours - and above all the "ancients" - are still greatly attached to pagan customs. Social life, especially family life, provides them with many opportunities of heroic acts, while for the less fervent they are a stumbling block. Would Europeans in the same situation resist as strongly? I doubt it.

Take as an example the funeral ceremonies of a near relative, either the burial or the obsequies some months later. If the person were a pagan or, converted on his deathbed, the majority of his

family are pagan, there is almost always a sacrifice, either to a fetish or to the ancestors. Sometimes the son of the deceased has a particular role to play which he cannot perform if a Christian. If the family is tolerant and if Christianity is allowed in the district he is dispensed; but if the contrary be the case, he is threatened with the vengeance of the deceased (poison) to force him to consent. If he refuses, he is cut off from his family and by that fact gives up his heritage.

In the more frequent case of regular sacrifices adult Christians are not pressed to take part, if they are accepted as such or are numerous. If the whole village is begging for rain, for instance, they can have a Mass offerred for that intention and thus share in the collective life. But an isolated Christian would be persecuted by his family if he refused to join in the pagan sacrifice.

The position is more difficult for *children*. They are bound to obey their parents in daily life and it is often hard for them to discriminate between what is permissible, what is tolerated and what is forbidden. Their conscience is trained at the catechism

class and above all in the confessional.

When they fail, it is through weakness. The moral persuasion has been too strong, threats have been accompanied by blows, and fear of being poisoned (not an imaginary one) has done the rest. In cases like these the neophyte is, as so many of the primitive Church, a *lapsus*, not really an apostate. He may become so through repeated falls, but he may also recover himself, be firmer in the future or escape from the milieu which is such a hindrance to his perseverance. With time the Christians will multiply and the resistance of the braver ones will spare the weaker brethren the temptations too strong for them.

For women and young girls the temptation to apostasy is always in the guise of a pagan marriage, as it was in the primitive Church. Destined according to custom or promised from an early age to a particular husband, already polygamous or a fanatical pagan, the girl has the alternative of refusing to marry or of denying her faith. (Mixed marriages are not allowed save very exceptionally and with serious reason.) She has not always, like Cecilia and Agnes, the desire of vowing herself to Christ, but she often needs the same degree of heroic courage to bear up under molestations and ill-treatment aimed at vanquishing her opposition. In some districts her refusal involves financial ruin to her family who have received a large dowry and spent it. How can they repay it if the girl has not already found a fiance of her choice as rich—and young men are not often so—who can indemnify everyone?

Often the pagan mother advises her to go to her husband "and if you leave him in a month or two we won't get into trouble." And some follow this advice out of filial piety to save their parents blame.

Need we speak of young Christian widows exposed to the solicitations of their brothers-in-law already married but whom they must espouse according to custom? If they do not stay with them, they must leave their children as the brother is heir to the deceased.

And here we are in the bosom of the family which is not yet Christian even when the individuals are... for a whole system regulates the life of the married couple, especially that of the mother: the welfare of the children depends on her. In face of these customs, reinforced by all the relations with remarks, surveillance, backbiting or jeers, husband and wife give up the attempt to live otherwise than as did their ancestors. Happy are those who, freed by distance from the hold of environment can start a truly Christian home and a family life which enriches all!

3. The African milieu infiltrated by Communism.

This study would be incomplete did it no mention communistic influence in native Africa. More and more are the suburbs of the big towns spreading: young people go to make money for the whole family back in the bush, or to earn sufficient to buy a wife; former schoolboys who, having spent 3 or 4 years in the classroom, think it unworthy to do manual work, "little brothers" or cousins of a city dweller, attracted by the allurement of the great towns; all these youths without qualifications, without sufficient intelligence to continue their primary studies, without ability for careful or prolonged work, have not the energy of the "worker" who wills to get on whatever the cost. Small jobs, badly paid, are enough for them; they have plenty of spare time and so prefer them to any other.

They know nothing of marxist teaching, but from time to time agitators come their way and that is enough to persuade them

of the social injustice of their lot.

A large number belong to near-Communist parties by *policy*; generally speaking, they are not in favour of Communism, but *against* the other party, or the Leaders of the other party. Communist tactics are to create an atmosphere of discontent, which permits the fomenting of troubles about anything or nothing; and this is not a favourable atmosphere for the Christian spirit.

4. Need for action in the African milieu.

The real need is to develop the Christian spirit, to work deeply so that African Christians will fully live their Christianity and spread it among the masses. It involves a whole scheme of education: education of the neophytes, who must be put on their guard against certain lapses quite intelligible in a still pagan milieu; education of the children of Christians, whose parents leave everything to the missionaries; above all, education of the girls. For hitherto we have been much more occupied with the boys, who come more readily to the mission centres, the girls being kept to do the housework at home. However, it is through the women that Africa will really become Christian; it is the well-educated woman who, by opposing the advent of another wife, will cause polygamy to die out; it is the woman who brings up the children, forms their character and mentality. But here is the tragedy of the missionary problem: who is going to do it? Missionaries, you say: they know the country, the African mentality, and so are best able to train the elites. But these missionaries are only a handful. already overwhelmed with apostolic work...

However, there are the same problems in Africa as in Europe; the training of an elite, the conquest of the masses, problems of creating Christian homes, of the education of children, of delinquent children... training of young workers in the country and in the towns, the formation of Christian trades unions, of youth

movements, etc., etc.

Missionaries can see, better than anyone, what the family and social problems are which are crying out for solution, and the unforeseeable consequences since the populace reacts as a whole, and only exceptional individuals have sufficient culture to study these questions in the light of Christian principles. But there are too few missionaries to do everything and be everywhere. They are continually repeating that Africa will become either Christian or materialistic, according to whether Christians take an effective interest in her or not.

The Influence of Milieux on Religious Life

Enquiry by the "Revue du Clergé Africain"

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE ENQUIRY BY FR. VAN WING

In May 1949 the Revue du Clergé Africain took up the enquiry started in Lumen Vitae by Professor Le Bras on the influence of milieux on religious life. ¹ Fr. Van Wing, S. J., former superior of the Kisantu Mission and member of the Colonial Council, asked the missionaries and the native clergy to collaborate. We quote an extract from this preface:

Is an enquiry such as this concerning the activity of each of the faithful and the influence of the milieux, as useful in Africa as in Europe? I reply that it is *more* so and here are the reasons.

The Church is certainly no less dynamic in Africa than in Europe. But it does not appear with that venerable character which impresses even unbelievers in countries where Christianity has long existed. In these latter the mere function enjoys some prestige; the mere fact of it being traditional, official, even conventional, strengthens the authority of the individual. In Africa the priest — whether working amongst Europeans or natives—has greater need of making an impression by his own personality. Hence the necessity of personal contacts with each of his flock. And these contacts will be merely superficial if the priest, unlike the divine Pastor, does not know his sheep, if the sheep get the impression that they are not really understood?

But, in Africa as in Europe, the priest cannot content himself with knowing the faces and taking the spiritual temperatures of the faithful. He must study the causes which are favourable and otherwise to the moral and religious life. The members of Catholic Action have already understood this as concerns Europeans; they have carried out partial surveys concerning the good or bad influence of the various milieux which constitute the colonial environment. On this foundation they are able to undertake action — personal or even institutional — on the milieux or at least to prepare the future colonist

¹ We are most grateful to Fr. Leopold Denis, S. J., editor of the *Revue du Clergé Africain* for having authorised the reproduction of the text of Fr. Van Wing and for having sent us the answers received (Editor's note).

to protect his spiritual and moral life when he is in less favourable surround-

ings.

The need for such enquiry regarding the natives is even more obvious. Customary milieux change, new ones are created. How can the colonist, whether priest or legislator, direct this evolution by religious or legislative action if he is ignorant of the pressure exerted by these milieux, the safeguards or threats to morality? With the help of sound surveys, religious ethnology will go forward; I mean, not so much descriptive ethnology as functional which will orientate institutions in the way of civilisation.

Besides this great utility for institutional reform, research concerning the influence of the milieux will have three appreciable results for the priest: it will enlighten him, stimulate his zeal and bind him closer to his flock.

It will enlighten him: Why are people going less frequently to the Sacraments? Why has the number of marriages dwindled? The enquiry will provide at least the elements of an answer; then action can be taken on reasoned lines and not in a purely empirical manner.

The enquiry will stimulate zeal: instead of falling into routine one will endeavour to better adapt one's action to the needs of souls.

Finally, it will create better understanding between the pastor and his flock: the better one knows a man, the better one is able to place him in his life context, appreciate his qualities, be indulgent to his failings, more truly love him.

These reasons will no doubt convince European missionaries as we have ourselves been convinced. But it may be asked whether these researches are equally necessary for the native clergy? Does he not already know his racial brothers very well? Do not the bonds of blood and affinity enable him to penetrate the psychology of his flock? Doubtless. No one will deny him this advantage over the European missionary. However, we think that the native priest, too, will derive great profit from these enquiries. He must not be content with only the annual statistics he has to send to his bishop. These do not throw any light on the causes of the progress or retrogression in the various sectors of moral and religious life. Without some more thorough examination, his pastoral action will not be methodical. And then — dare we say it? - the native priest who has received a privileged education runs the risk perhaps of an undue severity towards his racial brothers who are still under the influences from which he has escaped. A well conceived enquiry into the atmosphere in which his flock live will cause him to have a better notion of the situation and make him more indulgent to them.

In the same number the editors of the Revue du Clergé Africain then proceed to define the meaning of the expressions, religious life and milieu. There followed a questionnaire relating to the natives and to the Europeans living in the main centres. We reproduce the chief sections:

I. General position. — General terms of reference — Ethnographical

situation — Economic situation — Professional situation — Religious subdivisions — Parochial framework.

II. RELIGIOUS VITALITY AMONGST THE NATIVE AND EUROPEAN CATHOLICS. — Questions of method. — Catholic practice. — Beliefs. — Morality. — Mutual relations between faith, morality and practice. — Attitude of lapsed Catholics.

III. INFLUENCE OF THE MILIEUX ON THE RELIGIOUS LIFE. — Climate and dwellings. — The family. — Economics. — Professional and working classes. — Institutions and legislature. — Administration, politics. — The historical milieu. — Cultural. — The influence of outstanding personalities. — The repercussion of world events.

In the following number (July 1949), four other questionnaires were published: they dealt with the Europeans living in the bush, the natives in rural parishes (mission stations), natives of the interior and schools. The former questions were adapted to suit these categories.

II. THE FIRST ANSWERS

The first information received confirmed Fr. Van Wing's prophecy. They showed what good those who responded to the enquiry receive for themselves and their flocks, and also the good to pastoral work and catechism classes.

We would like here to give some extracts of two typical answers; one on the religious situation of the European population of Léopold-ville ², the other, particularly searching, describes the religious life of the native parish of St. Joseph in Panda-Jadotville. ³ Incidentally we shall make use of information supplied concerning another centre by Mgr Parisot, Vicar-apostolic of Ouidah-Dahomey.

1. The religious life of the Europeans living in Léopoldville.

We will not repeat what the reader has already been told by Fr. Mosmans in his article, but will confine ourselves to some facts concerning the town and on some points which seem to need emphasising.

A. General situation. — The European population of Léopold-ville is 8,000 to 9,000.

² Answer of Fr. Wolters.

³ Answer of Fr. Floribert Cornelis, O. S. B.

Its houses are situated on a stretch of land 15 to 20 km. in length, set close together for nearly the whole length. The majority of the adults are married. There are about 1.200 children in the free schools; 650 to 700 in the public secondary school. The native city has a much greater population (about 180.000 inhabitants).

Starting from Ndolo, the church St. Anne is some 6 kilometers from the most distant housing; the chapel of the Sacré-Cœur, 8 km. 1/2; the church of St. Léopold, 15 km. Further inland, 2 or 3 kms from the Sacré-Cœur, is the chapel for the military camp.

- B. Religious life. The observer has not told us the percentage of Catholics in the total population, nor that of protestants, moslems, or pagans. Without these details and others as to ages, some of the information is not so revealing.
- a. *Practice*. About 2.000 persons go to *Mass* each Sunday; this attendance is as a rule the result of personal belief. Many go to Holy Communion. Weekly confession is dropping off.

25 % of the total population go to their Easter duties.

Out of 300 births, there are 250 baptisms.

Christians rarely refuse the *Last sacraments* (4 refusals noted in the course of the last sixteen years), but it often happens that the priest is called only when the dying person has lost consciousness.

Quite a large number of colonists have never been confirmed; several make their First Communion on the occasion of their marriage.

Family devotions: one can see in the houses a crucifix, statue of the Sacred Heart and of the Blessed Virgin; in many families grace is said by a child before and after meals.

b. *Beliefs.* — The parents undertake the religious training of their children; at the public secondary school, the religious instruction is well attended, and in 1950 sixty pupils made either their First Communion or their solemn communion.

Among believers, the faith seems a more personal matter than formerly; but, speaking generally, knowledge of their religion is poor among the adults.

c. Morality.— When one compares the situation today with that of earlier times, one notes some progress. There is no open vice, neither nudism, nor unbecoming dress, except among newcomers perhaps, no morphinomania, houses of ill fame, nor bribery. Concubinage with native women has greatly decreased. The birthrate has risen. The Ardennes offensive, at Christmas 1944, has put a stop to carousals on Christmas Eve suppers.

All the same, there are darker shades in the picture. There are a large number of divorced persons who come out to the Congo 'to start again'; hence the relatively high proportion of purely civil marriages.

C. Influence of the milieux on religious life. — The very sober statements which have been sent us show several important connections. First of all, the result of housing on morality.

There is a housing shortage. The Europeans live where they can, the hotels being full. Rather than go to an hotel with so little opportunity for family life, the employees take, for exorbitant rents, indecent or demoralising lodgings. Husbands and wives suffer much from this. It often happens that it causes a fall in moral standards among new arrivals, especially as they are given the worst jobs and feel themselves isolated. It is not always a disadvantage, however, that they are away from their families in Europe for that helps them to be freed from the rut of neo-malthusianism.

Certain professional classes exert a bad influence.

The opinions hostile to religion of some important officials make their mark on the services. Religious practice is difficult for the Portuguese shop-heepers, who have to keep their shops open on Sundays for the natives.

Taken as a whole, the Protestants do not practice their religion. They do not have much influence on the conduct of the Catholics. The *institutional* milieu is not unfavourable, but the Catholics must be on their guard.

At the end of his report, Fr. Wolters asks us not to lose sight of the influence of the European milieu on the colonists before their

departure for the Congo, an influence which persists.

In controversial matters such as the Royal question, it is the notions which they have brought with them from Europe which are uppermost; and this shows perhaps better than anything that Europeans are "birds of passage" who have reached a certain level in morals and intellect and religious ideas and stick to it automatically — so that the clergy here can do nothing but accept the accomplished fact.

2. The religious life of the native parish of St. Joseph in Panda-Jadotville.

The monograph on this parish has been drawn up with the greatest care. It is full of points of interest for the sociologist.

A. General Situation. — First of all here is the preliminary information.

Jadotville is situated in the province of Katanga, the vicariate of Elisabethville. The enquiry was held concerning the one parish of St. Joseph at Panda, the Union Minière centre of Haut-Katanga. This parish is formed of a cluster of small stations, about 8 to 90 kms apart. We have only studied the

centre relatively close to the parish church. The area is 5 km. square; the

total population 12,183 on the 1st July 1949.

Ethnographically, we must mention that there are numerous Europeans, but we have not been concerned with them, because they go to the European parochial church in the centre of the town. The half-breed population consists of 18 adults (10 men and 8 women) and 27 children (25 under 10 years of age). The black population (12,183) is divided as follows:

Catholics: 5.047:

Children who have not made their First Communion: 1.544.

Children who have made their First Communion: 700.

Men (workmen and apprentices): 1.823. Women (married, widows, divorced): 980.

Protestants: about 500.

Moslems: 2.
Pagans: 6.264.
Catechumens: 370.

Economically, we take into account the fact that all the natives are fed and lodged by their employers, there are 10% poor (minimum wages, no saving), 89% of medium income, 1% rich (more than 2.000 frs. a month).

The professional position is as follows: 65 % are manual workers more or less skilled; 30 % are skilled workmen; 5 % are clerks, teachers or the equivalent.

As to the parochial institutions: there is a church (30 metres by 16 spacing for the faithful) where three masses are celebrated each Sunday. All the schools have been built by the firm: 6 classes in the Kindergarten, 21 primary classes for boys and 14 for girls, 3 pre-professional classes. There are three forum rooms (10 m. by 8 m.). The firm's hospital holds 300 beds.

The church is served by three priests: there are 4 teaching sisters, 7 nursing and 4 Catholic social assistants (working for the firm) who help greatly in spreading Christianity.

- B. Religious vitality among the native Catholics. We will deal successively with practice, beliefs and morality.
- a. Catholic religious practice. The attendance at Sunday Mass is as follows: 90 to 95 % of the children of school age (during the term), 30 % of the apprentices, 10 % of the workers, 12 to 15 % of the women.

Attendance is particularly bad on the part of the workers occupied in factories which function day and night in three shifts (they have often an excuse, but it is chiefly because they are caught up in the industrial machinery) and the clerks (except a few elite). ⁴ On the other hand, the better grade workers are more constant (carpenters, fitters, turners). The quality of the work seems to affect the Christian personality of the worker.

Paschal duties are performed by 100 % of the children of school age, by 80% of the apprentices, 25 % of the workers and 40 % of the women.

^{4 &}quot;Religious observance is less amongst shopkeepers and officials. They are rich and slack. They offer no resistance to temptation, often provided by others." (Mgr Parisot).

All the children of devout Christians are baptised. Those of the others are baptised when the parents bring them. Pagan children are only baptised when in danger of death.

From the 1st July 1944 to the 1st July 1949 we have blessed 131 religious marriages. There is no civil marriage in the strict sense of the term. As for native local marriage, it is impossible to give any precise figure, as there is no registration as with Europeans; the figure is probably high.

Every Christian, even the most lax, wishes to be buried by the church.

In the homes we find the crucifix and pious objects. But this does not mean very much, for the pictures of Christ and our Blessed Lady rub shoulders with film stars.

. The father rarely takes part in family prayers, and few parents see that their children say morning and evening prayers.

In all categories, children, young people, women and men, of personal piety (that is attendance at Mass, lengthy visit to the Blessed Sacrament, disinterested Mass intentions), we suggest these figures:

Male adults: devout, 1/2 %, faithful, 25 %, seasonal, 74 %, remainder,

I /2 %.

Female: devout (if one is not too strict about their marriage), 1 %, faithful, 40 %, (being lenient about Sunday Mass) seasonal, 58 I/2 %, remainder, I /2 %.

Children: devout, 10 %, faithful, 90 % (slightly lenient about Sunday

Mass).

b. Beliefs. - 99 % of the baptised children attend catechism. This result is facilitated by the schooling which is obligatory for workers' children.

Most of our parishioners have been taught elsewhere. The adults' knowledge of their religion varies according to their place of origin, their belonging to a more or less intelligent race, under missionary influence for a shorter or longer period, family Christian or still pagan... Altogether one must recognise that their knowledge is insufficient, although many can repeat their catechism. But is not this the fault of our methodology which relies too much on the reason?

Is their faith personal or reduced to a routine affair? On this point it is not easy for a European to understand the mentality of the native. If a native woman becomes a catechumen, is it not often because her husband has ordered her to go to instruction and be baptised so that they can be married in church? What other motive for belief has the pupil in a low form at school, save what appears to him the moral obligation of joining the ladder of social ascent which Christianity represents? Once baptised, they do not bother their heads about being very conscious of their faith; they are content to do what their missionary says, that is, if he has sufficient moral sway over their

c. Morality. — There are over 15 % more irregular than regular marriages among Christians.

Nearly all the natives practise trial marriage, under a more or less disguised form. There are several reasons for this. To bind oneself by an irrevocable union when there is no guarantee that it will be blessed with offspring to ensure one's lot in the hereafter appears to the native to be an almost insurmountable obstacle. Add to that, that he considers marriage to be, not as does the European a solemn and unique act which has consequences day in and day out, but more as a series of formalities which *progressively* create the matrimonial bond. Moreover, the native Christian who wishes to marry a girl who is still pagan or catechumen has to wait till she has finished her instruction and been baptised. Then he has to get the money together for the ceremonies and feast... altogether years pass before the celebration of the marriage.

As regards *justice*, morality is fairly good. But it is sad to note how often there is a tendency to be less than just to the less favoured brethren; here is a real danger in the evolution of the elite. *Charity*, that specifically Christian virtue, is met with among a few christians. With time, the fine flower of our Christian civilisation will bloom in the Congo.

C. Influence of surroundings on the moral and religious life. — We have just described the moral and religious life of our natives. We must now see how it is influenced by the conditions favourable or otherwise of the surroundings in which they live.

a. Climate and housing. — Situated in the midst of Katanga at an altitude of 1,200 metres, the parish gets three months of relatively severe cold. During this period from May to August, attendance at Mass drops considerably. Built on a height and facing East from whence come the cold winds of the dry season, the church is an ice house from which many mothers flee and also others. In September, the hot weather begins. At that moment attendance at Mass rises again, but it is two months before it attains normal.

Nearly all our Christians live in baked brick or Kimberley brick (dry brick) houses with roofs of felt, cement or tiles. They contain one, two, three or four rooms besides the kitchen. The average size of a room is 6 m². The ceiling of canvas or cloth descends as low as 2 or 2.50 m. Each house has a kitchen opening on to a court and a shed for firewood. There is a public supply of drinking water — shower baths and W. Cs.

Considered from the moral point of view, what reflections are we to make on the dwellings of the natives?

The first important fact is that the Negro no longer lives in the midst of his village, visible to all. Here he is in proximity with strangers who pay no attention to him.

Secondly, and this raises a real problem: nearly every family of workmen has to support at least temporarily a relation or a compatriot. These are 'parasites.'

Thirdly, most of the houses and their kitchens are semi-detached. Only an iron fence or low hedge separates the plots of land, often, nothing at all. Furthermore, these houses are built every ten metres one way and fifteen the other. The latest built ones are further apart.

Such a house, although a great improvement on the primitive dwelling of the Negroes, still leaves much to be desired if we wish to develop the native family on Christian lines. It is almost impossible for a family to live at all to itself; everything is carried on in common with the rest of the neighbourhood. Also, given the small size of the rooms, life is carried on in the yard or on the barza, open to all comers. In spite of their being used to common life, this lack of privacy disturbs our people. It is hard to control the children. How can they be looked after if everyone is free to enter and the child can hear and see everything that goes on? And what about the time when the boy or girl is 14? The parents try to send the boy away to some relation or celibate friend or with a young apprentice who has a lodging to himself. For the girl the parents hope for an early marriage.

b. Family life. — The uprooting from early connections is not without advantages for religion. 1) The worker in our parish is not breathing in the pagan atmosphere which is so noxious to many villages of the interior. 2) Also the concentration of the people allows of an orderly and methodical missionary work, a great improvement on the motor rounds of the Father in the bush. Here there is opportunity for daily contact with thousands of men, women and children in the church, at the school, the dispensary, on the football field, by means of Catholic Action, the parochial magazine, etc. The natives realise that the Fathers are there, in the midst of them and for them

Unfortunately, the effects are counterbalanced by others less favourable:

1) the religious indifference of their surroundings. The Christian family is liberated from the fear of the gods, but the working milieu is so little help to the one God. "We have come for money." That is the word — money, the chief preoccupation of our Christians, men, women and children too.

2) Too much freedom is a danger for the family. In the village they cannot take a step without being watched by twenty pairs of eyes. Here, there is nothing of that; it is the rule of freedom. If a man goes into a house, who knows of it? The husband is at work. If the woman goes to get her provisions at the other end of the town, what harm? If the children, boys and girls, go to a football match and come in at 8 o'clock in the evening, well, the way is long and there are many friends.

We have stated in this way how the family milieu is itself influenced by the general atmosphere: now we will see how it reacts upon the children.

There is no uniformity; it depends on the origin, the degree of evolution, the Christian atavism of the families. There are some where the children are under the rule of the parents alone, without interference by uncles and aunts; others are still under the ancestral system; others in an intermediate stage. Generally, the mother's influence is growing; one of our activities of Catholic Action for women consists precisely in raising the prestige of the mother with her husband and with the children.

Is this family influence very strong? In the bantu families it is not so with young children, but becomes so with adolescence, at 17 to 18 for boys, earlier for girls. Usually, the parents, especially the Kasai, arrange for their

sons to return to the village for a time; the old members of the family will teach him the niceties of the mother tongue, little used among the whites; they will tell him the genealogy of the family, the totem if there is one, and all the tribal customs; without forgetting the proverbs, the enigmas, and the various chants. The girls will receive from their grandmother an initiation into married life and customs, etc. In short, we often find that, on their return, the boys and girls are obviously different, and that after barely two months. Often from that time religious practice declines and so does their trust in the missionary.

c. Professional and working milieux. — Great breaches are made in the faith in the skilled workshops where European workers are relatively numerous. The native is careful not to contradict them and in course of time ideas penetrate. We only know of one native a very good solderer, who dared to say one day to a European at his place of work: "Sir, would you dare to repeat before your son the words you have used here?"

The workshop influences the morals of the youths. The older men — and here we speak of the natives — take it upon themselves to 'train' the apprentices to their new life. We all know that the native ear is but rarely shocked by obscene phrases. Therefore we can guess much when an apprentice says that the conversations go too far.

If the apprentice is under the orders of an old European workman, he will often find in him a protector and almost a father, who will look after the behaviour and morals of his pupil.

d. Religious milieu. — We will study in succession the Catholic, other Christian, and pagan milieux.

We should not like to state that the *parish* plays any large part in the religious life of the mass of our Christian adults: 10 % are much influenced by it, 70 % more or less directly, 10 % avoid it more or less willingly, 10 % keep away deliberately.

As for the *schools*, they have ceased to occupy the attention of the clergy at the expense of the adults. But, we must emphasise the fact that, thanks to the Catholic school open to all, the Christian ideal is made known more widely, the mass are instructed in the natural and supernatural destiny of man, an elite is drawn to Catholic Action or the seminary, the priest is helped in social work.

The *Protestant* influence is almost nil (the Protestant school has 50 pupils to our 2.000). It happens that children coming from the interior and not finding a place in our overcrowded schools, go to them. But it usually happens that they come on to us when they can.

If paganism has lost its glamour, vain observances and superstitious practices continue to exercise an attraction. The Christians object, for

⁵ Mgr Parisot observes that in Dahomey: "Some intellectuals practice black magic. Their number seems to be on the decline. There are few Christians who altogether escape the atmosphere and the fear of fetishism. However, they are on the increase."

instance, to the wearing of amulets and the youngest display a marked irreverence for superstitious customs. If this sentiment is not corrected by a real Christianity it will slip into atheistic materialism, worse than ancestral paganism. 6

e. The institutional and legislative milieu. — We will first examine the native, then the European.

Many native institutions are opposed by their rigidity to the progress of moral and religious life; for example, the native hierarchy as it exists in our district. Fortunately, our centres are liberated to a certain extent from tribal constraints.

However, ancestral customs continue to weigh heavily on the family life of our people. This is above all the case for the races under the matriarchal rule still holding good for the workers who come from the Katanga mountains. Marital authority is mitigated by that of the mother-in-law. Even under the patriarchal regime, where the father's authority is indisputable and undisputed, the family which is Christian remains under the yoke of family customs.

We will not linger over the institutional milieu of European origin. Christian marriage is recognised. We hope that the recent decree of the Belgian Colonial Council will be the beginning of further progress. 7

f. The historical background. — The parish not being situated in the midst of some special tribal fortress, but more at a busy crossroads where some twenty different races meet and mingle, we must keep to general remarks.

Considering the various historical backgrounds, it is amid the ancient dominant and warrior tribes (Baluba of the river - Lunda - Bakete -Bayeke) that we find customs and morality unfavourable to the spread of the religious life. We will confine ourselves to a few contrasts. Compare, for example, the matrimonial customs of the Baluba of the river with those of their Kasai vassals. The former are complicated, the latter relatively simple. The first are lax to a certain extent; the latter are highly moral. In the same context we may compare the purity of the Batabwa (Lake Moero - Lake Tanganika) and the unnatural perversions of the Babemba.

There are traces of this atavism among our parishioners; not that some are better than others. However, the moral potential is greater with some than with others.

g. The influence exerted by strong personalities. - The natives of every

⁷ Cf. on this point, the article by Fr. VAN WING, S. J., in Lumen Vitae, III (1948), pp. 294-300. In other colonies the position is not so good. " A large door is opened for divorce, for the religious collapse of many of the changing natives. Who can tell

the evils of laicism?" (Mgr Parisor).

⁶ According to Mgr Parisot, this decline is already observable in certain surroundings, a laicising policy being partly responsible. "While there is in some quarters a recrudescence of fetishism, it is more a case of a crowd of societies belonging to a neo-paganism worse than the old, which we have seen for some years. This neopaganism, with some infiltrations of Christians, is licentious. "

race have a tribal chieftain more or less obeyed. We do not think these chiefs exercise a marked influence on the religious life of their Christians, for example in stopping them from practice.

We have two chiefs in Catholic Action, one, especially, a very expert solderer, exerts a real influence in the workshop where he has young apprentices

to look after.

Three women in Catholic Action stand out as having a truly Christian outlook.

An important parochial work is to distinguish elements like these from the mass; no sacrifice is too much to attain this end.

On the European side, we must underline the influence of the social assistants. They do not overlap with the Sisters, for these work outside the camp quarters and the former do not go out of them.

For lack of space, we have not been able to reproduce *in extenso* the documents so obligingly put at our disposal: these extracts are themselves rich in lessons.

First of all, they put the enquirer on his guard against the false hope of understanding the group under review only by exploring its present surroundings. Our actions follow us. Virtuous ones, but also faults. The education received and the life led in Europe or in the bush continue to influence both European and native in new settlements. More than that, their ancestors survive in them and we have to go back to them to understand the dispositions favourable or unfavourable. Very often journeys show the relationships between the milieu of the past and of today.

These reservations do not invalidate the value of the enquiries carried on in a circumscribed milieu: life, work, etc. These researches for instance, enable us to discover the influence of housing on conjugal intimacy, the upbringing of the children, morals in general; the influence of the profession (workman, shopkeeper) on religious

practice, morality.

These observations will guide the steps of the teacher (above all the priest or religious) and those responsible for the development of institutions.

The priest-educator will find light to understand and direct souls and adapt his pastoral work. His *teaching* even will be more to the point, a necessary progress if Christian rather than atheist materialism is to succeed to paganism.

The educator must obviously be backed up by the legislator. This is also pointed out by the enquiries. Economics must be at the service of the human person and the law must sanction progress in conscience and not, by laicism, hasten the trend to a "neopaganism worse than the old."

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions of the International Conference. Reflections on the Present State of Religious Sociology

by George DELCUVE, S. J.

International Centre for Studies in Religious Education 1

Before leaving the charming "Maison Bouvigne" at Breda, the delegates looked back at their work there and considered to the next meeting. My first task will be to recall briefly the conclusions and plans of the Conference. Next, I should like, living over again that time of international collaboration and making use of all the sociological data to be found in this issue and preceding ones, to get down to the sources of contemporary sociology, point out the directions which research has taken, take note of several findings and practical results, and re-echo the most urgent desires expressed at the gathering.

I. CONCLUSIONS AND PLANS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

On Saturday the 31st March, after the reading of the final paper, Canon Leclercq, president of the Conference, gave his views about the present state of religious sociology and his reflections as to the work carried out. He started a discussion which led to the following conclusions:

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First of all, international collaboration must be encouraged. A keener sense of its necessity is one of the benefits of meetings such as this.

But there is another and equally indispensable condition of progress: in research work observation must be scientifically conducted. To desire quick results or be carried away by apostolic zeal compromises objectivity of research and sacrifices a postponed but more fruitful action.

Since religious sociological workers wish to be objective and on their guard against untimely proselytism, may we not envisage and hope for the help of those undertaken enquiries into various religious bodies? The conference does not intend limiting its study to the Catholic Church. It will also avoid precipitate comparisons or assimilations, both fatal to scientific undertakings.

Finally, as concerns Catholicism, certain qualities in the enquirer must neither be lost of sight nor underestimated; namely the affinity and viewpoint implicit in his Christian training.

Thus the discussion tended chiefly to protect sociological research from excessive zeal and from the narrow outlook of the ghetto. However, the interests of the pastorate were not neglected. Mgr Delacroix emphasised that the practical results of religious sociology be brought to the knowledge of priests.

This final talk was inspired by self-criticism with regard to the past and the desire to carry on the work more thoroughly.

In order to safeguard this orientation and to intensify international collaboration, it was decided that a small committee composed of a delegate from the countries represented at the Conference should meet three times a year. This committee was made up as follows: Canon Leclercq, professor at Louvain University (Belgium), Professor Zeegers, secretary director of the Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut of The Hague (Holland), Fr. Kopf, O. P. of Économie et Humanisme (France), Abbé Ermecke, Professor at Paderborn Seminary (Germany), Fr. Talamo, S. J. (Italy), Mr C. Joseph Nuesse, Professor at the Catholic University at Washington (U. S. A.).

In view of the variety of the problems which face religious sociologists, it was decided to form specialist committees. The following were suggested:

- 1. The role of the parish and diocese,
- 2. Priestly and religious vocations,
- 3. The function of the small family and of the complete family.
- 4. Mixed marriages,

- 5. Differences in the fertility of marriages (according to confessional groups),
 - 6. German refugees,
 - 7. The object of religious sociology,
 - 8. Ecclesiastical statistics.

Orientated and organised in this way, the work to precede the fourth International Conference of Religious Sociology, to meet in 1953, will doubtless be fruitful.

To facilitate this work and this collaboration is one of the principal objects of this issue. A like aim underlies the following attempted synthesis.

One word first on the early efforts of contemporary religious sociology, suggested by the articles in this issue.

II. THE SOURCES OF CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY

A completely Christian sociology — in particular that of Le Play — and the social action inspired by it aroused an interest in social conditions and initiated observation methods. Especially in France "undertakings inspired by social Christianity prepared Catholics for understanding religious sociology" (Le Bras). In Germany and Belgium the first to be aware of the dechristianisation of the masses were the pioneers of social movements and their works continue to inform us of the growth of the evil.

For a long time, it is true, the people remained faithful to the practice of their religion, despite their difficulties; yet it was only by reason of the restraining influence of custom. But from the end of the XIX Century, dechristianisation in Europe forced itself upon the attention of observers.

Many contrasts caused surprise in different countries: the contrast between the new dechristianised generation and that which had preceded it, between one district which remained faithful and the neighbouring one, between the workingclasses and the bourgeoisie. But a much stronger contrast struck men of faith like the Abbé Cardijn: the gulf between the supernatural vocation of the workers and their religious and human abandonment. Perhaps it is useful to stress the part which faith has played: it aroused a concern which went beyond the unbeliever's curiosity, although he too was intrigued by the complex fact of apostasy. We shall return to this point.

Although deep concern was shown by some, the progress of

religious sociology was slow.

Sociology requires a technique of observation, appreciation and formulation. Ecclesiastical training was of little help in this matter and those who turned to it, were overoccupied with the pressing need for action.

Moreover, in practice, the application of these methods to religious phenomena was distrusted. In France, sociology, once made respectable by Le Play, was taught by Lévy-Brühl and by Durkheim, who attempted to explain religion by its most rudimentary forms; premature comparisons ended in watering down. Hence, this sociology seemed to many people as "a manœuvre destined to destroy the sense of spiritual things, the consciousness of human freedom, the transcendence of religion in men's minds" (G. Hoyois).

In America also and for similar reasons Catholic religious sociology is still in its beginnings. In Canada, Professor Falardeau tells us, the teaching of positive sociology has suffered from the kindred branches of philosophy and theology. In the United States ethnologists — specialists in the study of religious phenomena — discredited themselves by advancing arbitrary hypotheses; the explanations of the sociologists offended religious minds.

Today, things are different. Hostility towards certain religions has changed, even amongst unbelievers, into a certain interest in these aspects of human culture, an interest from which sociology has benefited. And above all, some notable personalities — M. Le Bras in France — have directed research towards the great religions, particularly Catholicism. What is the position today of research in religious sociology?

III. RESEARCH IN RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY

I. Theoretical considerations.

A. Object. — What is studied in religious sociology and under what aspect? In technical language: what is the *material* object of this science and what is its *formal* object?

Professor Francis has told us how confused are opinions on the point in the States. In Europe the field of religious sociology is still ill-defined and its viewpoint is debated.

However, positive religious sociology is best kept distinct from social doctrine and social aspects of dogma, on the one hand, and

from social or religious action, on the other. It lies as it were between doctrine and action. It studies facts which are both religious and social.

When we begin to be specific, we find some slight differences, even divergencies. Fr. De Volder, O. F. M., has mentioned this. For him religious sociology studies the structures of religious life and their relationships with each others and with profane groups. Professor Le Bras gives more detail and doubtless would give sociology a higher competence. "Like all religion," he writes, "Catholicism proposes truths to be believed, rites to be observed, an organisation in which each of the faithful finds a place and a rule. The incontestable object of religious sociology is this visible establishment, whose dimensions and elements as well as its structure and vitality are its study. It could go further. We do not hesitate to attribute to it the examination of social conditions in the development of beliefs and rites, of the collective relationships with other societies, religious or profane, and also with the societies of the next world. All these problems must, we think, be examined in time and space." Professor Le Bras, then, sees two doors at the beginning and end of religious sociology, one open on to profane society acting on the religious group and being influenced by it, the other on to the kingdom of the soul. The collectivity, indeed, partly explains the habits and conduct of the individual; inversely, the religious attitudes of men cause the social attitude in the profane sphere.

Here we have the delicate problem of the relationship between religious and general sociology and between religious sociology

and religious psychology.

The need for inserting a sociology of Catholicism into general sociology is now realised to a greater degree, as we see from some of the articles in this issue. Religious sociology is also interested in the effect of the group on the soul. One might ask whether it does not neglect the action of the individual on the society. And yet how explain the rise, revival and decline of many religious groups without reference to the people who have brought them forth, strengthened them, stricken them? Indifference—at least relative—with regard to the action of the individual on society may perhaps be explained by the persistent influence of a sociology which has exaggerated the ascendancy of society. It may be true also to attribute to the same cause the lack of interest of some sociologists in the manifestations of *supernatural* religion.

As to what concerns the object of sociology, the way has been smoothed to an agreement, but the goal has not yet been reached.

The Conference therefore formed a committee to study this object more closely.

B. The spirit. — The gulf between the depersonalised and atheistic masses and the religious community which men are called upon to form on earth causes a painful shock to the convinced believer. This shock, as we have seen, is a stimulus to research. Is the influence of Christian faith exhausted at the start?

To judge by the contributions to this issue, this problem has not been sufficiently studied. Matters of technique seem to have absorbed attention to the detriment of the spirit in which the enquiries ought to be undertaken. Still, there are the elements of an answer. Mgr Geck and Professor Francis have touched on the matter; Fr. De Volder has quoted the opinion of several authors.

According to Professor Francis, the Christian conception of the human person and his destiny directs all research, facilitates discoveries, suggests the explanatory hypothesis, avoids useless

Mgr Geck confirms this opinion, placing himself, it is true, chiefly if not exclusively, on the standpoint of social action. He regrets that in their social work Christians content themselves with the light of reason. He urges them to consider revelation and contemplate the community ideal in the Blessed Trinity.

Those who share his point of view will appreciate the collection *Unam Sanctam* quoted by M. Le Bras, and the studies of the late Fr. É. Mersch on the Mystical Body as providing a spiritual equip-

ment for the researchworker in religious sociology.

This theoretical preparation, although very elevated, is not enough for anyone who wishes to understand a fervent Christian community from the inside. For this, contemplation must be linked with *experience*. The child who has not had the experience of a truly Christian family can only with difficulty understand all the riches contained in such a community.

Is this to say that theological speculations should alternate with observations and that religious experience should influence the rigidity of reasoning? Obviously not. These views on the spirit of research work would probably have been better received if the unfortunate confusion about the progress of religious sociology had been avoided.

It cannot be claimed that such an approach is requisite for all enquiries. An unbeliever and even a man decidedly hostile to religion, can compete with the believer if it is to be a matter of mere counting attendance at Mass. It is to be desired that careful thought be given to the nature of these deep, speculative and affective dispositions and on the part which they can claim in the work of religious sociology.

- C. Technique. The technique of religious sociology has been very much improved during the last few years. Credit is chiefly to be given to Professor Le Bras, to Canon Boulard and to the movement Économie et Humanisme.
- a) Judicious advice has been given as to the order to be followed in enquiries. The stages suggested for the study of a parish are as follows:

Introduction. A complete examination of the sociology of the human group (in other words, the whole profane setting of the religious community).

Observations and analyses. An examination of the present state of Catholicism: the cadres, the public behaviour of the parishioners, etc.

Enquiry into the causes and conditions of the religious situation. "They are clearly delineated at present but they can only be fully intelligible when viewed in the perspective of history." (Le Bras).

- b) Suggestions have been put forward as to the mode of observation. From the quantity one passes to the quality; from the exterior to the interior. In other words, the work begins with statistics is continued by means of distinguishing between modes of behaviour and ends by the examination of witnesses and the quest for confidences
- c) The most interesting of the technical aspects is that which deals with the selection of standards by which to appraise the degree of vitality. M. Le Bras has suggested a large number 2; some referring to practice, others to beliefs or morality.

This work ought to be carried further. It would probably be desirable to distinguish between standards which apply every-

where and those useful only in one district or category.

2. Researches already effected.

In the recommended order, I would like to make some remarks and simple reflections.

A. Introduction: the enquiry of general sociology. - It is recom-

² Mesure de la Vitalité Sociale du Catholicisme en France, in Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, VIII (1950), pp. 3-39.

mended, is facilitated by the different tools of questionnaires, guides for the workers, etc.; it is more and more practised in

the parochial, diocesan, national spheres.

The sociologist undertakes demographical researches. He is interested in the profane structures which, on the territorial plane and in connection with the human effective, correspond more or less with the religious group to be studied: the district or village, region, country, according to where the enquiry is to take place. He must also explore the milieux of work and play which in our day are so often outside the home.

In many countries Catholic Action, preceded and carried on by social action, has awakened interest in these investigations and has worked often in too hasty a fashion, but none the less with profit for the apostolate.

These researches are undertaken by teams trained in the tech-

nique of the positive sciences.

In France, the movement Économic et Humanisme (the spread of which in Latin America has been made known to us) stands out in this connection. In Germany, Professor Neundörfer has pointed out its usefulness and necessity. But perhaps no organisation has placed religious sociology within general sociology with the decision and technical skill of the Katholiek Sociaal-Kerkelijk Instituut, directed at The Hague by Professor Zeegers. The articles by Fr. Grond and Professor Heere witness to this.

This preliminary work puts the enquirer in touch with the official statistical bureaux, the organisations of the humane sciences, the institutions for public morality, and these, for their part, become more and more interested in the results of religious sociology.

B. Examination into the present state of Catholicism. — Religious sociology has chiefly concerned itself with the parish or diocese, but has not neglected the other groups or structures: the family, the school, the clergy, religious orders, etc. But one thing stands out: the very choice of subjects demonstrates the anxiety felt by the pastoral clergy over the dechristianisation of the masses, an anxiety which has helped to stimulate religious sociology.

The literature which we have, is mainly the pathological. The urban parish in Europe or America is usually one which has ceased to be a spiritual community, because it is either overcrowded or threatened by industrial development, or else, on the contrary, is deserted out of working hours. The rural parish is a community being drained by emigration to the towns or else

crammed with refugees. The monographs are rare which, without lacking objectivity, describe the vitality of a parish which has remained faithful or has become missionary.

As concerns the Christian family, articles and books treat of homes which are deeply humane and religious. But, as a rule, the family is not considered from the angle of religious sociology. When the professional researchworker considers the family, he is most interested in the one which, in consequence of a mixed marriage, is not religious, or that which is scattered, truncated or overcrowded.

Doubtless, these enquiries are particularly useful and instructive. The effects of an uprooting help us to understand more clearly how deeply rosted had been the individuals previously. Yet, is it not desirable that other studies, just as objective, be made showing the Christian vitality of homes, even though they be less numerous?

The same considerations hold good for the enquiries held in schools, universities, among the clergy and religious orders.

Professor Monzel's article seems to me to be a model in what concerns the Church as a whole; would that it were an inspiration for similar undertakings with regard to the religious vitality of the family, parish and school!

Religious sociology has made continuous progress in investigation into the fundamental aspects of the religious life: practice, behaviour, beliefs.

The first enquiries had as their object religious practice and the most obvious symptoms of moral conduct. The results were published as statistics. But the quality of the actions and behaviour, opinions and intentions escaped the enquirer. Today care is taken not to stop at obvious and calculable phenomena; M. Le Bras in France and Mgr Geck in Germany have stimulated deeper investigation.

If the interior depth of religion has thus received attention, its dynamic force has also been carefully observed. The pamphlet published lately by the *Centre National d'Études Rurales* (Paris) invites the enquirer to look at the Catholic community "assembled in church," but also "dispersed amongst human society" and to note to what degree it represents the leaven in the lump.

C. Causes and conditions of the state of religion. — The enquiry undertaken by general sociology has demonstrated the environment of the religious group. It has been followed up by the exami-

nation of the structure and vitality of the latter. Now the en-

quirer seeks to explain the present state of religion.

This section of religious sociology has been dealt with by hasty enquirers; they have suggested explanations often plausible, but unfounded. Some have insisted on the role of economic-social factors, others on the influence of moral factors.

At least, they have usually avoided the exaggerations which have discredited among Catholics the determinist sociology of Dur-

kheim.

Discreet enquirers are now trying to determine the exact influence on the religious community of the geographical, economic, social

and professional milieux.

They are aware of the complexity of the problem; in our day when peoples are mingled together, they avoid solutions which do not take into account international migrations and relationships. Moreover, as witnessed by the contributions received from France, the Low Countries, Italy, Spain, Canada and Africa, religious sociology is careful to elucidate the present by means of the past.

IV. FIRST RESULTS: FACTS AND PRACTICAL TENDENCIES

1. Facts.

For the abovementioned reasons, religious sociology has worked mainly amongst greatly dechristianised groups; it has observed those most affected in order to diagnose the case and suggest treatment. One must not be astonished if the facts are usually painful ones. We cannot here recapitulate all those that are mentioned in this issue. We will simply draw attention to some which are important and fairly general.

- I) One of the first results of the enquiries is the *enumeration* of material and a classification, at any rate a rough one, from the practical point of view: percentages have been worked out for districts, social classes, professional milieux. This work is in various stages of advancement. In Holland it is facilitated by the official statistical bureaux; in Germany it is carried on in a well equipped centre.
- 2) Concerning structures, the enquirers insist on the fact that, in many places, the parish no longer corresponds to a spiritual community, often because it is no longer in the framework of

human society. It cannot keep its coherence and greet the new-comers unless it is very fervent and missionary in spirit.

3) Let us dwell especially on the observations concerning the aspects of religious life: beliefs, practice, habits. They are particularly interesting to the readers of this review.

Faith is an illumination and an engagement. From this double

point of view, it appears wanting.

The sociologists of France, Spain, Latin America speak of ignorance of religion as one of the prime causes of dechristianisation. Instruction and preaching are neglected. Certain subjects are badly taught: sacramental marriage, the excellence of a religious life, the Christian idea of the homeland. Frequently, too, the value of Christian dogma is not demonstrated. Is it then surprising that souls are at once victims of laicism and eager for the new values offered by communism? Observers take note of the denials and doubts of which the catechist and preacher must take cognisance.

As for the Christian engagement, it is often more apparent than

real in the rural or traditional milieux.

Religious practice suffers also from lack of individuality. Religion is not personal enough. Some enquirers deplore especially that

teaching of prayer is neglected.

As for *morals*, they suffer from the breakup of structures in a world where the means of propaganda are all in favour of secularism and materialism. The family is the chief victim of these disorders. The destructions of war, forced migrations, over-crowding, deprive millions of families of a home, the safeguard of conjugal intimacy and the atmosphere which is indispensable to education.

2. Practical tendencies.

The diagnosis dictates the treatment. It comprises two points: an educational and an institutional action.

The former will set in motion supernatural and natural means of equipping the individual to persevere and set an example in a hostile world which he will help to change.

The latter, carried out according to a matured plan, will operate on the structures of society, and chiefly on the Christian ones.

If the town planning schemes or other circumstances allow of it, it would be an advantage to parishes to be drawn up with account taken of their secular boundaries. The remarks of Professors Zeegers and Neundörfer and the Abbé Houtart's article show the way. In the meantime, the formation of a missionary laity will

spread the sacerdotal influence.

Many of our schools, overcrowded or too like lay establishments, do not sufficiently encourage a Christian humanism embracing all real values. Here again, we must attempt the best solutions without putting off the reforms whose execution can be started.

Rechristianisation and the sanctification of the family will be

the subject of special care.

This action on the Christian structures will already start one on the secular groups. Above all, nowadays, the Christian cannot afford not to interest himself in the legislative reforms both national and international.

These appear to me to be the chief directions which the articles in this number put forward.

V. PERSPECTIVES OF RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY

I have mentioned in passing several criticisms of certain of the enquiries held by religious sociologists: utilitarian preoccupations, superficial observations, over-simplified explanations; ove might add others: a disproportion between the choice of methods and the formulation of results, the rarity and particularism of the properly scientific work, etc. It will be better, without repeating here all the suggestions and programmes contained in the articles of Professors Le Bras, Zeegers, Francis and Neundörfer, to review the progress already apparent.

1. Without neglecting the information conveyed by statistics, the religious sociological enquiries will be more concerned with

quality and gain in depth.

Thus, it will offer a more exact and complete survey of the religious state and more probable explanations. At the same time, its usefulness will increase. For it will demonstrate better what are the helps and hindrances in the way of evangelisation; it will help the catechist and the preacher to find the way to minds and hearts.

2. Religious sociology will direct its torch, not only on to disinherited quarters and countries, but also on the groups which stand out for their vitality both interior and expansive. Only on this condition, it will show up the fact of the Church, which Car-

dinal Dechamps, even before the Vatican Council, invited us to consider. The apologist, the professor of religion, will rejoice at such a manifestation.

- 3. The instructive comparisons with the past or with other regions are the signs of new progress in enquiries. First of all, they require an exactness as to the subject of the enquiries. The authors of these articles have shown us that the words "parish," "working youth, "" mixed marriages" are susceptible of various meanings. Explanations have sometimes lacked precision; thus, one glibly names industrialisation as a cause without defining exactly under what form and for what reasons it is harmful; thus one meets the statements of several investigators who, especially in Germany, see the industrial areas better than the rural ones with respect to religious practice. Analysis of results sometimes run the risk of leading into error; for example, the percentages may be taken on different bases.
- 4. The progress of religious sociology will depend above all, as several authors have insisted, on a closer and better organised collaboration: collaboration between enquirers in religious sociology with the organisations of general sociology, collaboration between experienced men, especially parochial clergy or priests occupied with education or Catholic Action, with the specialists... In this sphere, as in that of catechesis one must, with Mgr Garrone, wish for "a true conspiring of all the various forces abounding in the Christian community."

Humanely comprehensive and permeated with prayer, the study of society allows us to discern with the deepest aspirations of modern society, the particular call which God addresses to it. We can understand the saving of Cardinal Mercier quoted by M. Hoyois: "After the bible, the most important and the most instructive subject of study for the representative of Christ upon the earth, is society." 3

^{*} Letter to Cardinal Gibbons, 25th September 1921 (Euvres pastorales, t. III. p. 259).

APPENDIX

CONTRIBUTIONS OF "LUMEN VITAE" TO RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY

I. DESCRIPTION OF RELIGIOUS LIFE OR OF UNBELIEF

ABD-EL-JALIL, J.-M. — Some Aspects of Mohammedan Piety (II, 2). 1

ARSÉNIEV, N. – Russian Piety (I, 3).

COLOMB, J. — The Inner Milieu of the Catechism Course (V, 2-3). Hoyois, G. — Religious and Moral Situation in the French-Speaking Parts of Belgium (III, 2).

Roos, H. - The Religious Situation in Denmark (II, 1).

VRANCKEN, G. - Norwegian Converts (III, 4).

Young, J. — The Religion of the Post-War College Students. A Summary of the Results of an Attitude Inventory (IV, 2).

II. DESCRIPTION OF MILIEUX

(with special attention to the conditions influencing the religious life)

I. A country as a whole.

Hurtado Cruchaga, Λ . — Chile, a Distant and Unknown Country (III, 1).

Kuri, S. - Aspects of the Problem of Religious Education in Lebanon (II, 2).

2. Cultural environment of today.

ARNOLD, F. -- Modern Conditions, an Obstacle to the Understanding of Christianity (V, 2-3).

DAWSON, C. – Education and the Crisis of Christian Culture (I, 2).

⁽¹⁾ The roman symbol refers to the year: I (1946). II (1947), III (1948), IV (1949), V (1950); the arabic symbol, to the issue.

GUITTON, J. - Modern Thought and Catholicism (IV, I).

HAHN, G. — The spiritual Coldness of Modern Thinkers. Reflections on the 10th International Congress of Philosophy (Amsterdam, August 1948) (III, 4).

LEWIS, C. S. - Difficulties in Presenting the Christian Faith to

Modern Unbelievers (III, 3).

MOELLER, C. - Mankind To-morrow and Christianity (I, 2).

3. Cultural environment of a country.

A. Africa. - NICOLET, J. - The Gospel and African Customs (V, 2-3).

VAN WING, J. - Formation of Native Leaders in the Belgian

Congo (I, I).

VAN WING, J. — A propos of a Recent Decree-Law of the Belgian Colonial Office. Legislation to Humanise the Development of Institutional Environment (III, 2).

VAN WING, J. - Christian Humanism in Africa (IV, 1).

VAN WING, J. — African Mentality and the Secular School (V, 1).

MWEREKANDE, G. — Towards a Christian Humanism in Ruanda
(V, 1).

B. China. - DRENEL, A. - Catechism Face to Face with Chinese Mentality (I, 3).

WANG, L. - The Attitude of Chinese Students towards the Catholic

Church (II, 3).

ZACHARIAS, H. C. E. – What the Church is up against in China (II, 4).

C. Colonies. — Delcuve, G. — The Influence of Western Christians on the Colonies. Observations, Opinions, Suggestions gathered at the XXXVth Session of the "Semaines Sociales de France" (Lyons, July 1948) (III, 3).

D. France. — Guitton, J. — Sources of Unbelief in Contemporary France (II, 4).

Soulages, G. - Reasons for the Unbelief in French Teaching Centres (II, 1).

E. Great Britain. — MURRAY, J. — The Problem of a Catholic Approach to the non-Catholic Mind in Great Britain (I, 1).

F. India. - JOHANNS, P. - Stepping-Stones towards Christianity

in Indian Philosophy (I, 1).

LACOMBE, O. — Christian Wisdom and Oriental Wisdoms (IV, 4). SONTAG, P. J. — One of the Problems Confronting the Indian Missionary. The Doctrine of Subjectivism and Relativity of Truth (III, 4).

G. United States. — LAFARGE, J. — Religious Education of the American Negro (II, 1).

4. The family.

NOTE. — The third issue of the fourth volume (1949) deals with "Interfaith Marriages and Religious Life."

COAKLEY, Th. F. — Mixed Marriages. Their Causes, Their Effects, Their Prevention.

David, J. – Mixed Marriages and Divorces. The Children of Mixed Marriages.

Delcuve, G. — Interfaith Marriage and Religious Life; Subject Matter for Research and Action.

LEIFFER, M. H. — Interfaith Marriages and Their Effect on the Religious Training of Children.

VAN LEEUWEN, B. - Influence of Mixed Marriages in Holland.

5. The School.

Note. — The first issue of the fifth volume (1950) is a special issue: State Schools and Christian Education.

Dondeyne, A. – Religious Education for University Students (I, 2).

Duprey, M. — The Religious Education at Saint-Martin-de-France (II, 1).

Duprey, M. — The "Lumen Vitae" Research in Schools and Colleges (III, 3).

McCaughey, J. D. — The Crisis of the University in Great Britain (V, 1).

MLOELER, C. — Influence of College on Religious Life (III, 2). REDMOND, S. — The Catholic at the British Neutral University (IV, 4).

Somerville, F. - Christianity in English Schools (IV, 4).

Waelkens, R. — Some Reflexions of a Master in a Provincial Grammar School on the "Lumen Vitae" Inquiry (III, 2).

6. Post-war environment.

PADOLSKIS, Most Rev. V. — The Physical and Moral Sufferings of the Lithuanians in their Country or in Exile (III, 1).

SLADEK, P. - Ministering to Displaced Persons in Germany (IV, 4).

TATTENBACH, F. VON. - Spiritual Conditions of German Prisoners in France (III, 2).

INTERNATIONAL CHRONICLE

The Parish Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the United States

by Most Rev. Edwin V. O'HARA

Bishop of Kansas City.

Chairman of the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine 1

and Rev. Joseph B. Collins, S. S., Ph. D., S. T. D.

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INTRODUCTION

I. THE FIELDS OF APOSTOLIC WORK. — This paper is concerned with the Parish Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the United States of America. Permit me to give a brief conspectus of its fields of apostolic work and of the extent of its operations before entering into a detailed discussion of its aims, organization, methods, and the spiritual motivation of its members.

¹ Born at Lanesboro (Minnesota), His Lordship Mgr O'Hara studied at the St. Paul Seminary, at the Catholic University of America, at the Catholic Institute of Paris, at the University of Notre Dame. Inspector of diocesan schools from 1905 to 1920, he later devoted himself to social work. He directed the "Rural Life Bureau" N. C. W. C. from 1920 to 1930 and founded the "National Catholic Rural Life Conference" in 1923. Consecrated in 1930, he was first appointed to the diocese of Great Falls (Montana), then (1939) transfered to Kansas City. Since 1938 His Lordship has been honorary president of the "Catholic Sociological Society of America." Address: 306 Sunset Drive, Kansas City, Missouri, U. S. A. (Editor's Note).

² Born, September 7, 1897. Author of: Christian Mysticism in the 16th Century (1939), Catechetical Instruction of St. Thomas Aquinas (1939), Catechetical Documents of Pius X (1946), The Visual Catechism (Slidefilm Series on the Baltimore Cate-

The general program of the Parish Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the United States as outlined by the Episcopal Committee looks to the exercise of the apostolate in five definite fields of Catholic Action, namely:

- 1. The religious education of children attending the public elementary schools. All religious instruction, you understand, is excluded from our system of State-supported schools.
- Religious instruction of adolescents and youths of both sexes attending secular secondary schools and colleges, as well as of youths who have left school.
- Adult religious education by means of religious discussion clubs participated in by men and women in the various parishes. This section provides training for lay apostles in the Parish Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.
- 4. The training of parents to fulfill their obligations as religious teachers of their own children.
- 5. The apostolate of bringing a knowledge of the Catholic religion to non-Catholics living in the parish.

It is obvious that the fields of work of the Confraternity are quite distinct from those cultivated by our vast and well-organized Catholic school system with its three and a quarter millions of children and youths in Catholic schools. This distinction must be carefully borne in mind ³.

While the general program of the Confraternity is outlined by the Na-

chism; 1949), Method and Techniques in Teaching Religion (now at press), and numerous articles. — Address: The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 5, D. C., U. S. A. (Editor's note). — In this paper, the asterisks refer to the contribution of Rev. Fr. Collins.

The Catholic School System in the United States embraces three large divisions: (a) 7,914 parochial schools with an attendance of 2,477,741 students. To this one must add 588 private elementary Catholic schools with an attendance of 82 000 students. (b) Diocesan and parochial high schools numbering 1,576 with 324,398 secondary students. To this again must be added 806 private Catholic high schools with an enrollment of 195,000 secondary students. (c) Catholic colleges and universities numbering 225 institutions with a student body of 252,727. The full-time teaching staff of this educational system comprises 106,776 teachers of whom 82,048 are teaching Sisters and 3,411 teaching Brothers. The balance of the teaching staff is made up of more than 7,000 priests and more than 13,000 lay teachers.

This vast school system, extending into every diocese of the United States, is supported entirely by the voluntary contributions of the faithful. No aid whatever is received from any civil or governmental source. Indeed, any participation in public funds is strictly prohibited to religious institutions by the constitutions of most of the states of the United States, and recent judicial decisions have gone so far as to say that the Constitution of the United States prohibits the giving of any governmental assistance to institutions under religious direction.

tional Office and, in its larger features, is adopted in practically all dioceses, there is very considerable diversity in the emphasis placed on different parts of the program because of the greatly varying situations in so vast a country. It is unnecessary to add that the actual program in each diocese is entirely determined by the Ordinary.

One hundred and twenty-one archdioceses and dioceses actively participate in the program of the Confraternity. In 1949, reports from over 17,000 parishes and missions indicated that more than a million public school children of the elementary grades were enrolled in Confraternity classes. More than eighty dioceses conducted religious education for secondary public school youth, and an equal number of dioceses participated in Adult Education through religious discussion clubs.

We turn now to consider the development of the Confraternity.

2. HISTORICAL NOTE. — *The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine is one of the fairly numerous societies which were formed about the time of the Council of Trent solely to provide religious instruction to children and adults in neglected districts of cities and towns in Italy and Spain. 4

⁴ *The decrees of the Council providing for universal catechetical education, and the subsequent publication of the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* gave a new impetus to the teaching of religion and contributed largely to the Catholic counter-reformation. Of the societies which arose during this period, the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine alone remains a purely lay organization; the others which have survived were incorporated into approved religious orders and congregations.

In 1560, during the pontificate of Pius IV, Marcus de Sadis Cusani, a native of Milan, came to Rome where he established a center of catechetical instruction for children and adults. He associated with himself several priests and a number of pious laymen in this praiseworthy undertaking, which soon enlisted the interest and services of Caesar Baronius, later Cardinal, and of Enrico Pietra of Piacenza, who was one of the first companions of St. Philip Neri in the Congregation of the Oratory. In 1567, Pope St. Pius V, a zealous proponent of the prescriptions of the Council of Trent relative to catechetical instruction, gave his special approval to the Confraternity, terming it «a most sacred work of the Catholic Church, and enriching it with indulgences.

St. Charles Borromeo found the Confraternity already well established in his Sec city of Milan when he took up his duties there in 1563. Upon the death of the great Cardinal in 1584, there were more than 40,000 children and adults enrolled in the Confraternity classes which were conducted by some 3,000 teachers and home visitors in 740 schools. Other saintly teachers who were actively interested in the Confraternity during its early years were St. Robert Bellarmine, who wrote his famous Catechism for the Confraternity; St. Francis de Sales, and St. Peter Canisius. The complete history of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in Europe and in the mission countries after the sixteenth century has yet to be written.

One can, however, trace its existence through the intervening centuries to our own time in the papal decrees, rescripts and other documents wherein the Holy See manifested a guiding interest in its continuance. The publication of the formal statutes in 1704 and the *Motu Proprio* of Benedict XIV in 1755, re-emphasizing the work of the Confraternity, are instances of the solicitude of the Church for this organization. Benedict XIV, in 1746, made the Church of St. Mary of Tears (S. Maria del Pianto),

The revival and extension of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in our time dates from the early years of the present century. On April_15, 1905, just two years after his accession to the Papacy, there came from the pen of Pope Pius X an encyclical letter, *Acerbo Nimis*, on catechetical instruction. The influence of that letter is felt wherever the Code of Canon Law is received with respect and obedience, for from this encyclical were derived those canons of the Code requiring the establishment of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in every parish in the world.

The letter of Pius X outlined a program for the religious instruction not merely of children but of youth and adults as well. It was, however, not in language of mere legal compulsion that Pius X addressed himself to the question of religious instruction in this encyclical. For this letter burns with zeal for the spread of the knowledge of Christ's message. It carries the voice of a devoted Supreme Shepherd seeking out the members of the flock who wander from the path of salvation. It examines with a holy fervor the sources of danger to the sheep committed to his care. It studies with pastoral solicitude and extols with wisdom and eloquence the office of the catechist. It sums up with apostolic authority the measures which are to be taken for bringing back safely to the fold those in danger through lack of religious instruction: "In each parish, the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine is to be canonically instituted."

Pius X, who opened the treasure of the Eucharist to the little ones, knew of the neglected children who might learn in the school of the modern world about everything except God. He knew of the youth in the workshop and in secular schools and colleges whose hearts were led astray from Jesus Christ by example and by pernicious propaganda. He was also on fire for the reconquest of the souls of "adults and those tottering with age who know nothing of the principal mysteries of Faith, who, on hearing the name of Christ, can only ask "Who is He that I may believe in Him?"

In view of this painful spectacle the Sovereign Pontiff asked: "Now, if it is vain to expect a harvest where no seed has been sown, how can we hope to have better living generations if they be not instructed in time in the doctrine of Jesus Christ?... To us, Venerable Brethren," the Holy Father declared, addressing himself to the bishops of the world, "it seems that while other reasons may play their part, we must agree with those who hold that the main cause of the present indifference and torpor, as well as the very serious evils that flow from it, is to be found in the prevailing ignorance of Divine things." In seeking a remedy for this ignorance, Pope Pius X pressed into service the Parish Confraternity of Christian Doctrine and closes his letter with a call to battle in the words of Moses: "If any man be on the Lord's side, let him join with me" (Exodus 32: 26).

the headquarters of the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine, which marked a new epoch in its history. This ancient church, with its miraculous image of the Virgin, is still the mother church of all parish units of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine throughout the world. The Confraternity, in the words of Father Spirago, "survived all the storms which passed over the Church, and to this day is doing a great deal of good in different parts of the world."

The ringing challenge of Pope Pius X for a crusade against religious ignorance under the banners of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine has been re-echoed, and his command reinforced, by his successors. Pius XI in 1923 instituted the Catechetical Office in the Sacred Congregation of the Council and that Sacred Congregation issued on January 12, 1935, the famous decree *Provido Sane Consilio* on "The Better Care and Promotion of Catechetical Instruction." This document has become the charter for the further development of the Confraternity.

Finally, the reigning Pontiff, Pope Pius XII, in his encyclical letter Sertum Laetitiae, "To the Hierarchy of the United States" (1939), refers to the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine as a spiritual agency "rich in achievement, richer still in promise."

In the United States the work of imparting catechetical instruction has from its earliest beginnings been regarded by the Church as a foremost responsibility of the bishops, clergy and teaching religious. Their efforts and sacrifices can be seen in the Catholic educational system of the United States. perhaps unexampled in the history of the Church as the fruit of the voluntary support of Christian education by a Catholic people. Nor were efforts lacking to bring religious instruction to children and adults outside the reach of the Catholic school system. Throughout the nineteenth century, the zeal of pastors led them to establish Sunday schools and classes of weekly religious instruction for children and adults in every parish. But the vast growth of Catholic population in the United States during the first quarter of the twentieth century brought home vividly the need of systematizing these efforts, whether in regard to the training of lay teachers of religion, the program of instruction, or the plan of assembling pupils for classes. Hence it was that the apostolic call of Pope Pius X fell as seed on fertile soil and the instructions of Canon Law concerning the establishment of the Confraternity provided the framework for the development of a systematic program.

3. THE CATHOLIC RURAL EDUCATION PROBLEM. - In the continental expanse of the United States there are several thousand small groups of rural Catholic families among whom it is at present impossible to maintain Catholic schools. This inability is due either to the relatively small number of families in the parish or to the considerable distance at which the families live from the parish center. Nevertheless these farm families have occupied a position of special importance in the Catholic population because the rural families in our country have more children than the urban families. This problem was recognized by the hierarchy and in 1920 a Rural Life Bureau was established in the National Catholic Welfare Conference to deal with the situation. Out of this study there developed the National Catholic Rural Life Conference which focused national attention on the needs of rural religious education. An important element in the solution was found in the religious vacation schools which will be described in more detail elsewhere in this paper. Beginning in 1923, the annual meetings of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference for many years included a section devoted to the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.

A consciousness of the need of more systematic direction in the solution of this vast problem grew with the years and led, on the occasion of the Catholic Rural Life Conference in St. Paul, October, 1934, to a petition addressed to the hierarchy at its annual meeting in Washington, November, 1934, for the establishment of an Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. The petition was favorably received and an Episcopal Committee of three members was appointed, which at once provided for a Department of Confraternity Publications and set up the office of the National Center of the Confraternity as a bureau in the National Catholic Welfare Conference to be of service to diocesan catechetical offices.

The first task devolving on the new Episcopal Committee was to suggest a plan of organization and a program of action for the Parish Confraternities. This involved a Diocesan Catechetical Office, a director, the annual celebration of Catechetical Day in each parish to mobilize the parish forces for action in the Confraternity, a Decree of Erection, and the opening of a parish register for the names of members — an essential condition for aggregation with the Archconfraternity in Rome and consequently for the gaining of the indulgences and spiritual favors by the members.

*The constitution of the Confraternity as approved by the Holy See provides that this work be entrusted to the Active members as distinguished from the Associate members, whose duties in the main are to support the organization financially and to pray for its success. The Active members who engage in religious instruction are Teachers, Helpers, and Fishers or Home Visitors. It is noteworthy that this division of workers is identical with that employed by the Confraternity in Milan during the time of St. Charles Borromeo. In this country they are employed in the conduct of School Year Religion classes and in Summer Vacation Schools, which are held for the estimated 3,000,000 Catholic children who attend public schools.

The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the United States has been assigned certain fields of instruction as peculiarly its own. The Parish Confraternity is not concerned with religious instruction in Catholic schools or colleges. It is taken for granted that this field of religious education is adequately cared for by the organized Catholic school system. The Confraternity program, therefore, is restricted chiefly to the following groups:

I. CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1. Program and manuals. — It is probable that the Catholic children attending public elementary schools in the United States number more than 2,000,000. The latest official Catholic Directory reports 20,000 parish and mission churches in our country, and approximately 8,000 parishes with Catholic schools. That presents a picture of 12,000 churches and congregations where the children have no opportunity of attending a Catholic school — 12,000 groups of Catholic children entirely dependent on the Confraternity program for religious instruction. But it must not be supposed that all the children in the other 8,000 parishes are in Catholic schools. Far from it,

unfortunately. Even in the cities, where most of the Catholic schools are located, there are many hundreds of thousands of Catholic elementary school children attending the State-supported schools. The Confraternity program, outlined in its elementary school Manuals, provides for these children two hours of religious instruction per week during a school year, and 60 hours during a religious vacation school in the summer — three hours a day, five days a week, for four weeks.

Catholic children who attend public schools need a year-round program of religious instruction. Therefore a unified, progressive course in doctrine and practice in correlation with the seasons and feasts of the Church Year is given during the school term. Instruction carries over into the religious vacation school which provides opportunities for character-building activities.

These religious vacation schools are not held for the preparation of certain groups of children for one or another of the sacraments, but are designed to supplement the year-round instruction of all Catholic children in the public elementary schools:

*To assist such a program, the Confraternity publishes teachers' manuals outlining a graded course of instruction based on the modern revision of the Baltimore Catechism: A Confraternity School Year Religion Course — The Adaptive Way, and Religious Vacation School Manuals, for Grades I-II, III-V, VI-VIII. These manuals contain directions for the catechist, instructions for preparing the lesson plan, a sample developed lesson plan for each grade, and up-to-date reference lists of teacher- and pupil-texts, visual aids, as well as a publishers' directory. The vacation school manuals also give a suggested daily schedule and music and recreation programs. Printed Instructions for Teachers; Helpers; Fishers are available for use in preparing these divisions of Confraternity workers for their part in the parish School of Religion.

- 2. Seminarians as Catechists during Vacation. The employment of seminarians as summer catechists was a matter of considerable controversy in the early days of the vacation school work. On May 5, 1935, the Apostolic Delegate (Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani) addressed a letter to the hierarchy of the United States concerning the employment of seminarians during vacation time. In this letter he wrote: "No. 2. It is preferable and desirable whenever and wherever possible that seminarians be engaged in teaching in religious vacation schools and in connection with other projects of a similar character." This communication made it clear that seminarians may properly be encouraged to enter upon this work. Needless to say, the results have been most happy for the development of both the seminarians and their pupils.
- 3. Released Time Instruction. An important means of reaching public school children in the more populous centers is found in what is called "released time instruction." By the laws of a number of municipalities and of some entire states, permission is given to withdraw the public school children from school one hour a week for religious training. For the

most part these classes must be held outside of the public school building on premises provided by the various religious sects. In a number of states, a very considerable advantage is taken of this permission by the Catholic educational authorities. Often these classes for public school children are conducted in nearby Catholic schools, with very satisfactory results. While recent legislation and judicial decisions have in many places been hostile to the "released time program," it still provides one of the most fruitful methods of reaching public school children, especially in urban centers. ⁵

II. CATHOLIC CHILDREN IN SECULAR HIGH SCHOOLS

Because of our traditional attitude of looking upon Sunday school as catering to little children, there has been a temptation on the part of many to think of the Confraternity as concerned only with children and chiefly with their preparation for the reception of the sacraments for the first time. A realization of the losses to the Church from a lack of contact with adolescent boys and girls is gradually freeing us from this dangerous view. The fact is, the most difficult and the most important field of Confraternity work is not with the elementary grades but with high school youth. Unlike the smaller children, they cannot readily be gathered into summer schools, and during the school year their public high school activities tend to absorb not only their days but their evenings. The modern high school undertakes to provide a leisure time program as well as the school day task for its youth, leaving no time for either Church or home to deal with the adolescent.

Boys and girls enter high school as children; they leave as young men and young women. All problems, except that of religion, are considered during the high school years from the point of view of the adult mind. If the youth passes through these years without reflecting on religion as an adult, he will emerge with a dangerously unbalanced mind — with, namely, an adult comprehension of social, economic, political and literary topics, and a child's mentality in religion. This will be a great handicap to his religious thinking; it will be a still greater handicap to his life since it will be without adequate religious principles.

Fortunately, the Confraternity has already created a keener realization of the gravity of this problem, and in every part of the country during the past fifteen years, there has been witnessed a notable awakening of the Catholic conscience in this matter.

In the encyclical letter of Pius X, *Acerbo Nimis*, special instruction is given to bishops concerning the duty of establishing religion classes in secular colleges. This question was discussed at length at the Confraternity Congress in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1937. The keynote of the sectional meeting on this

⁵ See Laurence J. O' CONNELL, Religious Education in the Elementary Schools in the United States, in Lumen Vitae, IV (1949), pp. 752-753. — Edward B. ROONEY, S. J., The Relation of Religion to Public Education in the United States, ibidem, V (1950), pp. 80-96.

topic was struck by Most Reverend John T. MacNicholas of happy memory, in the following words: "Assuming that Catholic students attending secular colleges and universities in the United States today number 100,000, we have 100,000 reasons to care for their spiritual well-being."

*The Confraternity in many dioceses in the United States has adapted the Newman Club plan, long in use in secular colleges, by establishing Junior Newman Clubs in public high schools, to bring Catholic students of a particular high school together, under the direction of a priest, for religious, cultural and social interests. These clubs may be organized: (r) in the school building: (2) at a center near the school; (3) in the parish, restricted to members of a designated school. In each case, the Junior Newman Club is the basis for whatever action is possible. It is an instrument to contact the student, to attract his interest, to provide him with instruction, and to encourage him to take part in as much Catholic activity as possible.

*In some dioceses there is a chapter in every public high school, thus necessitating a Diocesan Federation of Junior Newman Clubs, which sponsors annual retreats, days of recollection, special lectures, outings, the publication of a JNC paper, etc. Confraternity literature on this subject includes: Suggested Plan for the Organization and Operation of Junior Newman Clubs for Public High School Students; Constitution of the Junior Newman Club; Constitution of the Federation of the Junior Newman Clubs of the Diocese; and the necessary cards: application, membership, parent-request, and prayer. In many places where the clubs may not be organized in the schools. Chi Rho Clubs are organized on a parish basis for the same purpose.

*Suggestions for the religious instruction of high school pupils are published in the Confraternity pamphlet, *The Religious Instruction of Catholic Students Attending Secular High Schools*, which contains a recommended course of study. On request, the National Center of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine supplies information on available texts which cover this suggested course.

III. ADULT RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

In his encyclical letter Acerbo Nimis, Pope Pius X laid great stress on the need of religious instruction "among adults and those tottering with age," and this not merely among the working classes but also among those who consider themselves cultivated in the fields of literature, science, the arts, and the other learned professions. The Confraternity, consequently, has embarked upon a vast campaign of adult religious education. It would be absurd to limit religious education to children and youth. All life is a process of education. Indeed, the Sacrament of Confirmation, which is the sacrament of Christian maturity, lays upon the recipient the obligation of studying his religion so that he can explain it to others of his own social group. If adults are urged to stir up in themselves the graces which they receive in the Sacrament of Confirmation, the most available opportunity for so doing will be open to them in the religious discussion club conducted by their Parish Confraternity.

Our Holy Father Pius XII, in his letter to the American hierarchy, observed: "The needs of our time, then, require that the laity too procure for themselves a treasure of religious knowledge, not a poor and meager knowledge, but one that will have solidity and richness through the medium of libraries, discussion and study clubs; in this way they will derive great benefit for themselves and at the same time be able to instruct the ignorant; confute stubborn adversaries, and be of assistance to good friends." No more striking endorsement of adult discussion groups than this could be hoped for.

A religious discussion group is a small number of people who meet weekly for definite periods of the year, under selected leadership, to improve by cooperative study and discussion their mastery of the Catholic religion. Small groups are best. Rarely should they consist of more than ten or twelve members, for otherwise genuine discussion will be impossible. The meetings are held regularly each week for considerable periods of the year, because continuity of study cannot be achieved if the meetings are held irregularly or infrequently. It has been found that two sessions in the year — ten weeks in the fall and ten weeks in the spring - can be successfully maintained. Emphasis is placed upon selected leadership for each club. The qualities necessary for leadership, however, are common sense and generosity of service rather than brilliance or scholarship. The method of discussion clubs, as we shall have occasion to repeat, is not the lecture method but that of co-operative study and discussion. The simple, immediate purpose of the religious discussion club is to improve among its members their mastery of the teaching and practice of the Catholic religion.

*More than a decade of experience has given the Confraternity an approved method and procedure which if carefully followed will ensure success. This has been set forth in *The Religious Discussion Club for High School and Adult Groups* — *The Need and Purpose... How to Organize and Conduct a Discussion Club*, and in a leaflet, *Suggestions for Religious Discussion Club Leaders*, issued by the Confraternity which also supplies, on request, a classified list of texts suitable for religious discussion clubs.

IV. PARENTS AS RELIGIOUS EDUCATORS

We come next to the Parent-Educator section of the Confraternity. No one who reflects on the subject for a moment will hold that the school can relieve the parents of the duty of intelligent and active participation in the education of their children. No doubt certain overzealous teachers would gladly undertake the task, but it is an impossible undertaking. Perhaps the most important years of a child's life, from the standpoint of education, have passed before he starts to school at all. Here the parent bears the responsibility practically alone. If the child has not learned the love of God and acquired the habit of obedience by the age of five, he is not likely to have a religious or a happy life. The Parent-Educator section of the Confraternity makes a special contribution to the religious life of both parents and children, especially in careless Catholic homes.

The Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate, presents the case for the religious training of children in their homes in the fol-

lowing words:

"The parent's duty in catechetical instruction is one that cannot be discharged without preparation and method. Teachers are not born but formed, and the parent-teacher is no exception to this rule. The preparation of a teacher for religious instruction in the home is twofold, intellectual and moral. The parent must be prepared to explain the meaning of a question or answer in the catechism, or the significance of the chapter in a textbook on religion. This does not require the training of a professional teacher, and often the homely illustration or comparison of a fond mother or father goes further to illuminate the mind of a child than the formal explanation of the classroom. Moreover, the parents usually understand better than any other teacher the habitual mental reactions, doubts and difficulties of their own child. Much of the value of home education in religion lies precisely in this mutual and intimate understanding between parent and child."

By the very graces of the Sacrament of Matrimony, husband and wife are obligated and aided to fit themselves for their duties as Christian educators of their children; for the graces of the sacrament look to the education as well as to the procreation of children. It becomes, then, the very source of the dignity of the Christian parent that he is to be an educator of his children.

*To aid in this program, helpful materials have been published; viz., the Parent-Educator Discussion Club Series - five small volumes for use in discussion clubs composed exclusively of parents, which stimulate their discussion of : Parental Responsibility ; Teaching Prayer in the Home ; ... Obedience; ... Honesty; ... Citizenship. Also available are two series of leaflets for quarterly distribution to parents, and suggested directives for operation of this plan on a parochial basis. The first series, Teaching Religion in the Home, is for parents of children three months to three years; and At Home from 3 to 6, the second series, is for parents of children 3 years to 6 years. Each set consists of a folder-container and 12 leaflets. Written by a professional Catholic writer, the mother of nine young children, they are down to earth, readable, workable, inspirational, telling parents in their own language how to put religious attitudes into the child's mind and heart at every stage of his preschool development. The same author has published two small books for parents of elementary and high school children, entitled: Heaven, Home and School and Safe at Home. With the Family Book Shelf, a graded, annotated list, the Confraternity aids parents in selecting books for children from preschool through the high school level.

V. APOSTOLATE TO THE NON-CATHOLICS

Finally, the Parish Confraternity undertakes to bring a knowledge of the Catholic Faith to the non-Catholics within the boundaries of the parish. Certainly nothing could be more absurd than to say that a parish has done its duty by ministering to the Catholics within its borders. Such a conception

of parish duty has little relationship to the divine commission "Going, therefore, make disciples..." (Mt. 28:19). Not only the clergy but every Catholic layman and laywoman has the obligation to share in this apostolate. The gift of Faith itself imposes the obligation of making it known to others.

The apostolate to non-Catholics in the parish takes many varying forms. Missions for non-Catholics have been almost universally held in parish churches and halls — inquiry classes for non-Catholics, wherein a small group of interested non-Catholics are instructed by the priest, are to be found in practically every parish and are a fruitful source of conversions. The distribution of Catholic pamphlet literature to non-Catholic neighbors, and in hotels, railway stations and the waiting rooms of office buildings, is a wide-spread apostolate. Street preaching by clergy and qualified laymen is widely practiced in a number of cities and in some rural areas. The public press is also effectively utilized to carry well-prepared Catholic messages. The success of the apostolate to non-Catholics is to be measured by the decline of anti-Catholic prejudice as well as by the number of conversions.

*Two Confraternity publications give suggestions for those engaged in this field: Instructions for the Apostolate of Good Will, and Manual of Street Preaching.

*All activities of the parish unit of the Confraternity are directed by the local parish director under the over-all supervision of the diocesan director who is appointed by the bishop. The diocesan directors make use of the National Center of the Confraternity to keep abreast of the latest developments in their field and it serves as a medium of exchange whereby they receive information of interest from all sections of the United States. The National Center of the Confraternity, with a priest director, two priest assistants, and an experienced lay staff, is one of the bureaus of the National Catholic Welfare Conference located in Washington, D. C. It functions as a clearing house for Confraternity information that is supplied readily to all who request it. This office exercises no authority over the Confraternity organizations in the various dioceses, since each local unit in the parishes operates through its own diocesan director under the guidance of the Ordinary.

*The Episcopal Committee has authorized the formation of standing committees of the National Center that are made up of diocesan directors. These committees have gradually increased in number as necessity warranted until today they stand at eleven. Certain special committees of the National Center have also been formed, such as the Teaching Sisters' and Brothers' Committees, with members appointed directly by their general or provincial superiors to assist the National Center in its work and to act as official repre-

⁶ See John B. Sheerin, C. S. P., The Catholic Information Center, in Lumen Vitae, III (1948), pp. 65-84.

⁷ See W.-H. RUSSELL, The Catholic Evidence Guild in the United States, ibidem, III (1948), pp. 301-317.

sentatives of the Confraternity within the limits of their own communities. The latest committee of the National Center is the Seminary Committee composed of Professors of Catechetics in the major seminaries, appointed by the Seminary Rectors for the purpose of indoctrinating future priests in the nature and work of the Confraternity. To aid in this work are several publications on Catechetics in the Seminary, including the Seminary Unit of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, which gives the directives for "The Erection of a Seminary Unit," and "Class Presentation of the Confraternity in the Seminary," as well as recommendations for the "CCD Instructor's Library."

*Various institutes or training courses for Confraternity personnel have been sponsored by the National Center as well as by individual dioceses.

CONCLUSION

The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine strives to reach those groups who do not attend religious instruction in the Catholic school system. It strives, and with notable success, to encourage children and youth to enroll in Catholic schools and colleges. Experience has shown that Confraternity classes have led many thousands to their first acquaintance with Catholic schools. But the apostolic work of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine is to bring a knowledge and love of Christ to those "vast numbers" whose plight was described with pathetic eloquence by the saintly Pontiff Pius X in his letter Acerbo Nimis, quoted earlier in this paper. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine aims to mobilize under the direction of the parish priest the great resources of intelligence, good will and solid piety among our laity for the extension of the Catholic Faith to these multitudes. It may be said with confidence that no greater loss could be inflicted on the cause of Christian education than would result from failure to harness these immense resources of intelligence and good will to the chariot of Christ.

*In keeping with the primary purpose of all organizations working for the good of souls, the spiritual welfare and the personal sanctification of the members must not be lost sight of. The Constitution of the Confraternity urges its members, both active and associate, to say daily one Our Father and one Hail Mary for the success of the Confraternity program, and to receive the Sacraments once a month for this intention. All the members, moreover, are frequently reminded of the rich store of indulgences which the Church has placed at the disposition of the workers and learners as well. As one experienced diocesan director put it, "due attention should be given to spiritual exercises; e.g., prayer in common, spiritual reading, and brief ascetic instructions. ... I would inject a strong current of spirituality into the entire program. Members would be conscious of their high dignity as co-operators with the priest in doing the work of Christ's kingdom; and no opportunity would be

lost to help them grow in sanctity and virtue, particularly through participation in the sacred liturgy of the Church."

The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in America as of today has grown in scope and in influence from the modest beginnings of a decade ago. That God has blessed its brief life in our country is beyond doubt.

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